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VOL. XXI No. 2

VERMONT *Quarterly*

A MAGAZINE OF HISTORY



April 1953

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VERMONT HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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AN OLD IRON FURNACE IN FORESTDALE, VERMONT

"Few people in present day Vermont are aware of the extent to which iron was mined in many parts of the state in early days, or the extent and importance of the iron industry as a whole, both mining and manufacturing. Large iron deposits have been profitably worked in many places, including Bennington, Brandon, Chittenden, Colchester, Highgate, Ludlow, Milton, Monkton, Pittsford, Shaftsbury, Swanton, Tinmouth, and Woodford. A large deposit in Pownal was the subject of much interest in the early eighteen-seventies . . . It is almost impossible to exaggerate the importance of the iron industry in the economic development of Vermont during the last decade of the eighteenth century and the first half of the nineteenth. The story of the industry, its contribution to the life of Vermont, and its swift decline, is a theme well worthy of careful study and scholarly presentation." John Spargo in *Bennington Historical Museum Publications*, No. 2.



THE REPRESENTATION ISSUE IN VERMONT A CENTURY AGO

By SIDNEY G. MORSE
*Professor of History, Norwich University,
Northfield, Vermont*

This is the first in a series of papers designed to clarify various issues involving phases of our state governmental processes and their consequent applications. As Dr. Morse states, the representation issue is a century old and still very much a puzzle. We are very confident that his careful review sets the issue in order. Editor.

ADDRESSING the Burlington chapter of the League of Women Voters last September on the outlook for the 1953 session of the Vermont Legislature, Mr. Lawrence F. Killick, former representative from Burlington, stated (as quoted in the *Free Press* of September 16, 1952) his belief that the question of proportional representation in the House of Representatives would be among the matters likely to be considered. "There is much to be said for this," he declared, stressing "that 222 towns can vote down a heavy majority of the state's population as things stand now." Mr. Killick may be proven correct in this prediction, although the existing system of representation could not be changed by constitutional amendment at the present time, since amendments may be proposed only every ten years, the next opportunity being in 1961. (On the most recent occasion, the Governor appointed a commission to consider amendments; this commission heard some testimony advocating a complete reorganization of the Legislature, but in its report, submitted in 1950,¹ recommended no amendments relating to that subject. Nor did the Legislature in its 1951 session propose any.)

In any event, Mr. Killick did lay his finger upon a feature of the government of the State of Vermont which has agitated her people since that government was first established. Just a century ago, interest in changing the basis of representation appears to have reached

1. *Report of the Commission on Proposals of Amendment to the Constitution of Vermont.* (6 pp., n.p., 1950)

a sort of climax; over a period of years the issue of proportional representation was so vigorously debated and schemes of such representation pushed in some quarters with so much energy, that the whole thing might be called "the mid-century drive for proportional representation." The drive failed, of course. But a good many things were said about this matter in the forties and fifties of the last century which are still of great interest, and even of considerable significance, for us today.

I

Vermont has always emphasized democracy strongly (one could say aggressively) in connection with her government. The first Vermont constitution, of 1777, was mostly a copy of the first constitution of Pennsylvania, a frame of government frankly "radical" for that day in its determination to place control of government in the hands of the people. The founders of the Green Mountain State intended to build solidly on the principles of John Locke, which had only a little while before been given classic expression in the Declaration of Independence. The General Assembly, addressing itself to Congress in 1783, declared that in Vermont "if we have any right to be an Independent Jurisdiction, such Right is, and must be, derived from Association, and the Civil Compact of the peoples . . . each State was formed by the association and civil compact of its inhabitants."² An authority (Edward P. Walton) has observed that this government was featured by "the investment of a single body (the representatives of the towns and people, called the 'General Assembly,') with exclusive and supreme legislative power, giving to the Governor, Lieutenant Governor and Council *advisory power only* in the preparation and amendment of bills, and *executive power* over laws and orders enacted by the General Assembly."³

This all-powerful position of a unicameral legislature was later substantially modified by constitutional amendments giving greater control over legislation to the executive, by means of a stronger veto power, and establishing a state senate, based on county representation, to share the legislative functions with the House of Representatives. Nevertheless, Governor McCullough could still with much truth declare in 1902 that he was assuming leadership of "a people's govern-

2. *State Papers of Vermont*, edited by Walter H. Crockett (Bellows Falls, 1924 and later years), III, ii, 176.

3. *Records of the Council of Safety and Governor and Council of the State of Vermont*, edited by E. P. Walton (8 vols., Montpelier, 1873-1880), I, 83.

ment. In Vermont the Governor is the titular head of the State. He is expected to represent her at public functions. His duties, unless in some great national crisis or convulsion, are neither many nor arduous."⁴ Whether our present-day governors would agree with the last statement of their predecessor quoted here, is perhaps open to question; but it seems clear that the principle of a "people's government" is still firmly cherished in the Vermont of 1953.

It must not be forgotten, however, that the founders of Vermont, when they spoke of "a people's government," had in mind a representative republic. To be sure, the right to vote was granted more liberally than in any other state at the time, universal manhood suffrage being provided for in the Constitution of 1777. And in the early conventions which set up government in "the Grants" in the 1770's, before the State was organized, towns were assigned delegates according to their size; at Dorset in January, 1777, representation ranged from seven delegates for Bennington down to one each for Pawlet and Wells.⁵ The Constitution of 1777 provided that towns possessing eighty or more taxable inhabitants should, during the first seven years of the new government, have two representatives each; and towns smaller than that, one each. At the end of this seven-year period, every Vermont town would be allowed one representative "forever thereafter." The significance of these apparent concessions to the principle of proportional representation would seem to be that the framers of the Constitution were merely taking note of the fact that the older towns had reached a state of maturity and importance that would not be at once achieved by the newer towns. This did not affect the basic principle that, in Vermont, towns were towns: the foundation stones upon which the government was to rest. And a town was a corporate body, each one of equal standing; you could not measure the importance or worthiness of a town merely by counting the number of inhabitants in it, any more than you could evaluate a man by how many pounds he weighed.—There was little matter for surprise here, in view of Vermont's New England origin and the circumstances under which her territory was being settled.

II

Another feature of the government of Vermont was the method of amending the Constitution, also copied from Pennsylvania—although

4. [Inaugural] Message of John G. McCullough, Governor . . . October 3, 1902 (n.p., 1902).

5. Records of Governor and Council, I, 12.

that state abandoned it in a few years, while Vermont retained it until 1870. A Council of Censors of thirteen members, elected at large by the freemen of the state, was to be chosen once every seven years to perform two tasks. First, this Council was to determine whether or not the Constitution had been faithfully observed by all branches of the government during the preceding septenary. Second, the Council was to propose amendments to the Constitution if, in its judgment, any were desirable. If the Council did propose amendments, they must then be considered and accepted or rejected by a constitutional convention called by the Council of Censors for that purpose. It is important to note that the Constitution did not prescribe the basis of representation for these conventions. There was to come a day when this omission made possible developments resulting in considerable commotion throughout the state. But for many years the constitutional conventions summoned by the Councils of Censors were automatically based on the same town representation as the legislature: one delegate per town.

The amending process featuring the Council of Censors was evidently intended by its originators to be another device aimed at protecting and forwarding the interests of "a people's government." The Council, chosen directly by the people, was to be their watchdog and guide, guarding their welfare and pointing the way to further improvements in their political system. The outcome proved somewhat different. Instead of being accepted as the champions of the people, the Councils of Censors more often than not found themselves in conflict with the representatives of the people, and were frequently denounced by them, although the criticism seemed sometimes to be based on different and even contradictory grounds. Samuel Williams in his famous *History of Vermont*, published in 1806, said that, after thirty years' experience with the Council of Censors, the people were much disappointed with it; he asserted that the proceedings of the Council were generally characterized by "prejudice, partiality, contracted views and want of comprehension. The assembly often pay but little regard to their decisions, and the people still less."⁶ A more recent historian concluded that the Council had shown itself "radical or progressive," but that its proposals had usually been "sent to the rear by the conservative constitutional conventions;" one of the outstanding examples of this, he thought, was the length of time required to get a senate established in place of the executive council.⁷

6. Quoted by Lewis H. Meader, "The Council of Censors in Vermont," *Vermont Hist. Proc.*, 1898, 116.

7. *Ibid.*, 124.

The very first Council of Censors, in 1785, gave its attention to the system of representation, which in its opinion evidently already appeared as a fault in the Constitution that should be corrected. With a view to "rendering government less expensive, and more wise and energetic," the Council put forward two alternative constitutional amendments, each limiting the House of Representatives to a total of fifty members, apportioned throughout the state either by counties or by representative districts to be created by the Legislature, "having regard to the grand list, the local situation of, and the probability of a disproportionate increase of population in the different districts."⁸ This early proposal that the town representation system be abandoned for proportional representation was rejected by the constitutional convention which met in 1786, at the call of the Council of Censors.⁹

III

The most important organic change made in the government of Vermont during its first half-century was the replacement of the original executive council by a senate. The amendments for this purpose, proposed by the Council of Censors of 1834 and adopted by the constitutional convention of 1836, converted the legislature from a unicameral to a bicameral body. This was widely considered then and later to be a reform virtually inevitable and long overdue, since the bicameral system had become a standard feature of national and state government in the United States. However, one of the state's leading political scientists has concluded, after a careful analysis of the Legislature's record, that the bicameral legislature has shown no greater wisdom or efficiency than the old unicameral body, while it has of course cost the state more to operate.¹⁰

Since representation in the Senate was placed on a proportional basis by county according to population, it was argued by some that the creation of this second house not only gave added stability and wisdom to the law-making process, but also satisfied the need for proportional representation generally.

Meanwhile, the question of representation in the House of Representatives had been raised from time to time. Constitutional amendments had been proposed by the Councils of Censors in 1785, 1792, and 1821; very likely the matter was the subject of lively discussion

8. Proceedings of the First Council of Censors, in *Vermont State Papers*, edited by William Slade (Middlebury, 1823), 520, 532.

9. *Vermont Legislative Directory 1949*, 79-80.

10. Daniel B. Carroll, "The Unicameral Legislature of Vermont," *Vermont Hist. Soc. Proc.*, N.S., III (1932), 1-85.

in all of the Councils of Censors. It was in the 1840's and 1850's, however, that the most determined effort to bring about this change was made.

In the Council of Censors of 1841, Peter Starr of Middlebury proposed an amendment providing that every town should have at least one member in the House of Representatives; towns of 2500 inhabitants should have two representatives; towns of 3500, three; and towns of 5000, four. No record of the debate on this proposal is at hand, but when it came to a vote in the Council it was defeated 9-3, with only Starr of Middlebury, John A. Pratt of Woodstock, and Heman Allen of Burlington voting for it. The Council then appointed a committee to "examine the constitutions of all the states in this union, and report an abstract, showing how the legislature is formed in each State, the number and periods of service of the senators and representatives."¹¹

When this Council met for its third and last session at Burlington in February, 1842, Heman Allen made a nearly successful attempt to get the principle of proportional representation adopted in another connection. He moved that the convention to be called by the Council of Censors to consider its proposals, instead of being made up of one member from each town, should be composed as follows: *every* town to have at least one delegate; towns of 1400 and over, 2; 2500, 3; 3500, 4. This proposal was at first adopted by the Council; but, after parliamentary wrangling, it was eventually defeated.¹² Thus an open battle over this issue was averted at this time; but a full-scale row broke out some years later, when the eleventh Council of Censors, of 1855, actually provided for representation in the following constitutional convention on a proportional basis.

Vermonters undoubtedly have always had a keen appreciation of the economic basis of politics; probably the authors of the *Federalist Papers* were able to teach them little on that score. And there was, of course, a vital connection between representation and economic interests. Some interesting suggestions bearing on this aspect of government were made during these years. A member of the House of Representatives in 1846 introduced a resolution requiring that, in the appointment of standing committees, "in order to have a fair representation of the people, it is expedient to have not less than one farmer or one mechanic on each of them."¹³ Evidence that the complaint

11. *Journal of the Council of Censors: Sessions of 1841-42.* (Burlington, 1842), 24, 28-29, 33.

12. *Ibid.*, 48, 52.

13. *House Journal*, 1846 Session, 12-13.

implied by this resolution was a just one was supplied by the *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, published at Montpelier, which in January, 1850, printed the following classification of occupations represented in the House:¹⁴

Farmers:	144
Attorneys:	40
Merchants:	17
Physicians:	9
Clergymen:	5
Mechanics & Laborers:	18

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(This may be compared with the estimate made by the *Free Press* in January, 1953, that one third of the members of the current House are farmers.) A really drastic solution for the problem of disparity in economic endowment was suggested to the Council of Censors in 1848 by one George B. Armington, and others. Their petition proposed simply a constitutional amendment which, among other things, would limit the amount of land that any individual could acquire. The Council, obviously taken aback by this proposed assault upon a basic tenet of American freedom, referred the petition to a committee, which, after having resisted "many able and ingenious arguments" offered by the proponents of the measure, declared it impractical. The committee held that the scheme promised "no adequate benefit for the great change which it would produce in the present relations in the social state."¹⁵

IV

In the spring of 1848, the thirteen members of the tenth Council of Censors were elected. Three slates of candidates had been placed in nomination, identified by the *Burlington Free Press*, a Whig organ, as Whig, "Locofoco" (Democrat), and "Third Party" (Anti-Masonic). The Whig slate was elected, in a light vote.¹⁶ Actually, national party alignments seem to have meant little in the taking of positions on these local issues; men voted on the representation question as Vermont farmers, villagers, or townsmen—not as Whigs or Democrats. Yet quite a bit of hullabaloo was raised by the party newspapers during campaigns for the election of members of the

14. *Vermont Watchman and State Journal*, January 31, 1850.

15. *Journal of the Council of Censors: Sessions of 1848-49* (Burlington, 1849), 15-16.

16. *Burlington Free Press*, May 5, 1848.

Councils of Censors and delegates to constitutional conventions. The Whigs especially frequently accused the Democrats of trying to drag national politics into this matter which ought to be dealt with as a purely nonpartisan and local affair.

Early in the first session of the Council, held at Montpelier in June, 1848, John Pomeroy of Burlington moved "That it is expedient so to amend the Constitution of this State, as to secure to the people a more equal representation in the House of Representatives." The Council appointed a committee headed by Pomeroy (it was a custom of the Council to appoint as chairman of such a committee the proponent of the measure under consideration) to formulate definite recommendations for the consideration of the Council.¹⁷ The report of this committee was presented to the Council at its final session held in Burlington in February, 1849; whereupon one hundred copies of it were ordered to be printed for public distribution. This report embodied an elaborate analysis of the facts on representation as of 1849, and made a militant appeal for the adoption of a proportional system. Because it presents this side of the case more fully and ably than any other document that has come to the attention of the present writer, it is worth quoting at length:¹⁸

... The whole number of towns in the State is two hundred and forty-one—the whole number of inhabitants by the census of 1840, was 291, 948—there being one representative to each town, to wit, 241, it appears that there is one representative to a trifle over each 1207 inhabitants. There are 101 towns having less than 1000 inhabitants—there are 42 towns with less than 500—there are 22 towns with less than 300—15 towns with less than 200, and four towns with less than 100 inhabitants.

A majority of the Representatives are elected by towns which, in the aggregate, have but a little more than one quarter of the population—that is 121 towns, with a population of only 77,809, elect 121 representatives, while 120 towns, with 214,139 inhabitants, elect, of course, but 120 representatives!

The County of Grand Isle, with a population of 3833, elects five representatives, (to say nothing of its Senator,) while the town of Montpelier, with a population of 3725, elects but one representative!

The County of Essex is represented (to say nothing of its Senator) by 13 representatives, with a population less than the whole, and a grand list a little more than half that of the town of Burlington, which has, of course, but *one* representative!

There are 24 towns having (of course) 24 *representatives*, and yet, with a population and grand list each in the aggregate less than the town of Burlington *with one representative*!

17. *Journal of the Council of Censors* . . . 1848-49, 8, 28, 30-31.

18. *Ibid.*, 38-42.

Let us look at the ratio of representation in each County.

<i>County</i>	<i>Towns</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Ratio</i>
Bennington	17	16,872	1 to 992
Windham	23	27,442	1 to 1148
Windsor	23	40,356	1 to 1754
Rutland	26	30,699	1 to 1180
Addison	22	23,583	1 to 1072
Orange	17	27,872	1 to 1639
Chittenden	15	22,977	1 to 1532
Washington	17	23,506	1 to 1324
Caledonia	17	21,891	1 to 1289
Franklin	14	24,531	1 to 1752
Orleans	19	13,634	1 to 717
Lamoille	12	10,475	1 to 873
Grand Isle	5	3,833	1 to 766
Essex	13	4,266	1 to 328

And let us compare the representation of some of the Counties in the Senate.

Grand Isle, with a population of 3833, less than one-tenth of the population of Windsor County, has one-fourth as much power in the Senate.

Lamoille, Grand Isle and Essex Counties, with less than one-half the population of Windsor County, have three-quarters of the representation of Windsor County, and the Counties of Grand Isle and Essex, with a 37th of the population of the State, have a 15th part of the representation in the Senate.

This comparison might be continued with similar results to a much greater extent.

With these facts and views before us, we could not otherwise conclude than that the system of representation in this State, and particularly, in the House of Representatives, is unequal, and at war with the principles of representative governments;—it is anomalous—being based upon territory independent of population, like that of no other State in the Union. And when it is considered that this form of representation was adopted “in order that the Freemen of this State might enjoy the benefit of election as *equally* as may be,” we are disposed to place it with that other anomaly, the existence and protection of a system of slavery in a country whose government is based upon the declaration that “all men are born free and equal”! We would not, by this remark, be understood as questioning the sincerity of the professions of those pioneers of liberty either of the State or Nation, but as showing how far the force of circumstances may control the operation of the most sacred principles. For in the peculiar condition of Vermont, with her handful of people, struggling for existence against the assaults of a triple enemy, and endeavoring by every means and inducement to increase her limited population—we are not surprised that she, for the time being, with a simultaneous declaration of attachment to the principle of equal representation, and, securing by the Constitution itself a ready mode of alteration and correction, should have adopted as the most convenient mode of representation, and one calculated to encourage the settlement and organization of her towns, that of a representative to each, irrespective of population,—nor are we surprised that such a mode has been so quietly tolerated, when we reflect that the population of the several towns has hitherto been more nearly equal, the State

has been almost exclusively agricultural, and all parts having, of course, very similar interests. But the times are changing, nay, are changed; we are becoming a commercial and manufacturing people as well as agricultural; large towns are growing up with great and peculiar interests, which ought to be represented, and it is worse than vain to say that the people of the large towns should be content to have these new and important interests controlled by a system of representation so unequal. The *principle* is too plain to admit of an argument—but what shall be done? Shall the representation be placed upon a strict popular basis? We say, under the circumstances, No—whatever we might say were it a new question—but let the representation be so modified that while it shall not materially increase the number of representatives, it shall afford a reasonable relief to the large towns—or, at least, shall signify our respect for the great principle upon which is based the temple of civil liberty.

To accomplish this end, your Committee submit the following as a substitute for the 7th and 8th sections of the second part of the Constitution:—

The House of Representatives of the Freemen of this State shall consist of persons most noted for wisdom and virtue to be chosen by ballot by the Freemen of the State on the first Tuesday of September, annually, forever; and the representatives shall be apportioned to and elected by the several towns, respectively, as follows: to each town having more than one hundred inhabitants and less than three thousand inhabitants, there shall be *one* representative;—to each town having three thousand and less than seven thousand inhabitants, there shall be *two* representatives;—to each town having seven thousand and less than twelve thousand inhabitants, there shall be *three* representatives;—to each town having twelve thousand and less than eighteen thousand inhabitants, there shall be *four* representatives;—to each town having eighteen thousand and less than twenty-five thousand inhabitants, there shall be *five* representatives;—and to each town for every additional ten thousand inhabitants there shall be one representative;—and for each fifteen hundred of the fraction of the population of each County over and above the ratio of fifteen hundred inhabitants to one representative in said County, there shall be a representative chosen, at large, by such towns in said County as have not less than one thousand and more than three thousand inhabitants.

The effect of the foregoing amendment, under the present census, would be to add to the House of Representatives, five representatives from *towns* to wit, one from Bennington, one from Woodstock, one from Middlebury, one from Burlington, and one from Montpelier; and to the representation from the *Counties* it would add six representatives at large, to wit: three from the County of Windsor, elected by fifteen towns; one from the County of Orange, elected by thirteen towns, and two from the County of Franklin, elected by eleven towns,—making the whole addition to the present House of Representatives eleven,—from which, if we deduct the representation from the four towns having less than one hundred inhabitants, the number of the House will be increased, under the present census, by only *seven* members.

But what will its effect be under the coming census? If the increase of the population of the State for the current ten years be no greater than from 1830 to 1840, to wit: 11,271, which we think it fair to assume it will not be, considering the increasing inducements to emigration, the whole addition, under

the proposed amendment, would be but *fourteen* members to the present House of Representatives—being seven for the additional eleven thousand inhabitants. Assuming the increase of population for the next fifty years to be at the rate of fifteen thousand each ten years, which amounts to 75,000; and assuming that only one-half that number will be effective in increasing the representation, (the other half being exhausted in towns and counties below the ratio of increased representation,) and we shall have but an addition of *twenty-five* representatives, which, with the *fourteen* added after the next census, will make but *thirty-nine* members as the whole number to be added to the House of Representatives at the access of the *twentieth century*,—making the average addition to the House for the next fifty years a fraction over nineteen members.

Your Committee cannot suppose that it is contemplated by the Council, or by any body of sane men, that the present system of representation is to be continued through all time, however unequal the population in the towns may become, and, therefore, they hope, or rather presume, that the foregoing or a similar article of amendment will meet the approbation of the Council. It is moderate, it is conservative as forestalling any excitement on this subject, and it is in behalf of popular rights. That part of the article which provides relief to those towns having 1000 inhabitants and less than 3,000, your Committee conceive to be, though somewhat peculiar, yet when understood, quite simple, affording a clear and distinct rule, and a form of representation the more valuable because it is peculiar, and does not (so to speak) fall into the track of any other representation; and, as such may be a material conservative element in high party times.

This report was intensively debated by the Council during four successive days, February 21–24; unfortunately, no record of the discussion is at hand. The original committee proposal would apparently have given towns of less than one hundred inhabitants no representatives at all. Amendments changed this to allow all towns of less than 2500 inhabitants one representative; towns of 2500, two; and for each additional increment of 1500 inhabitants, a town would gain one more representative. In this form the proposal was finally adopted by a vote of 6–5, and it became the first of the fifteen articles of amendment recommended by this Council to the constitutional convention that was to meet the following year.¹⁹

Although the Council thus committed itself to recommending proportional representation for the House, its comments on the proposed amendment in its lengthy “Address” to the people of the State did not sound very enthusiastic. Noting that several earlier Councils had made similar proposals, the Address explained that “it was strenuously urged before us, that our present system of representation is unjust, unequal, and not founded on a popular basis. . . . Several

19. *Ibid.*, 45–56, *passim*.

projects were discussed before us, and a majority of the Council at last agreed to submit to the consideration of a Convention, an amendment of the Constitution. . . . We have been by no means unanimous in our action upon any of the important amendments proposed. Several of the Council have consented to offer to the consideration of a Convention, propositions to which they are individually opposed, believing that the freemen have a right to be heard thereon."²⁰

The Council at length terminated its labors by promulgating an ordinance for a constitutional convention made up of delegates to be elected by the towns (one each) in November, 1849, to meet at Montpelier in January, 1850, and by publishing its ten-page Address explaining its proceedings and decisions.

V

Reporting on the campaign for the election of delegates to the constitutional convention, the *Burlington Free Press* lamented that so little public interest was being taken in the matter. It thought that excitement over the doings of the Legislature in its annual session had perhaps absorbed the people's interest. It thoroughly approved of the candidate chosen by a caucus to stand for delegate from Burlington: none other than John N. Pomeroy, the man who had led the fight for a proportional representation amendment in the Council of Censors. The *Free Press* described him as "eminently conservative and practical in his views and policy, and would have as little respect to local or party considerations, in deciding upon the expediency of adopting the proposed amendments, in whole or in part, as any citizen who could have been elected."²¹

The outcome of the election proved to be a victory for the Democrats, who, it was conceded, elected a majority of the delegates. The Whig newspapers insisted, however, that this was not a party matter, that the Whigs had not treated it as such; they professed great scorn for the delight with which the Democratic press received the results of the election. Editorialized the *Free Press*:²²

If anything in the way of hysterics on the part of the Locofoco press of this state could surprise us, we should be surprised at the exaltation they affect at the result of the recent election of delegates to the constitutional convention. Following the delusive—the always delusive—leading of the Montpelier

20. *Ibid.*, 83.

21. *Burlington Free Press*, November 19, 1849.

22. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1849.

Patriot, these organs of a uniformly discomfited and uniformly *to be* discomfited party in Vermont, are shouting over a "democratic triumph."

The fact was, claimed the *Free Press*, that the Whigs simply did not vote; for example, in Burlington only 168 out of 1000 freemen voted; in Hartland, only 8 out of 500! Nevertheless, "Locofocoism" would not have things all its own way in the convention; although not in a majority, there would be able Whigs there: Pomeroy, Chipman, Coolidge, Crofts, Townley, and others. The Whig *Vermont Watchman & State Journal*, published at Montpelier, philosophized: "Right: the Whigs proposed the amendments; let the Locos now take their share of the responsibility."²³

Meanwhile, the freemen of Vermont were discussing the issues to be dealt with by the constitutional convention, and especially the question of proportional representation. To gain the full flavor of this talk, one would have had to be able to listen in on cracker-barrel discussion at the town and village level—and one would certainly have got an ear full. Unfortunately, in those days before the advent of the tape-recorder, it was not possible to make a permanent record of this salty material. But enough of the sentiments of the people found its way into the public prints to give us the gist of what was being said and thought.

The *Watchman* saw little likelihood that the amendments proposed by the Council of Censors would be approved by the convention, and expressed satisfaction over that prospect. "In the last convention [January, 1843] there was a majority of 20 Locos, and probably such will be the fact now. Then the amendments were all rejected, much to the satisfaction of the people generally. The next convention, however constituted, we presume will be marked by the same deference to the general interest; and we *guess* that no amendments will be adopted."²⁴

The *Watchman* conceded that the fact that the proposed constitutional amendments had been put forward by "so respectable a body of men as the late Council of Censors makes a fair *prima facie* showing for their adoption." It added that "from a source of at least equal respectability, we have opposite views, which are worthy of careful consideration. The following articles are from one of the ablest and best esteemed citizens of Vermont." The communications referred to, three in number,²⁵ came from a correspondent who signed himself

23. *Montpelier Watchman*, November 29, 1849.

24. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1849.

25. *Ibid.*, November 15, 1849.

"Anti-Radical." They constituted a forceful and lengthy (together the three articles filled three full columns of the enormous pages characteristic of mid-nineteenth century newspapers) justification of the Vermont system of town representation, and of the political philosophy upon which it rested. The first article might well have been entitled a "Conservative Manifesto":

. . . No intelligent and sagacious observer can misconceive the prevailing tendencies of the times, or be indifferent, if animated with a patriot's heart, to the dangers and evils to be apprehended from the restless spirit of innovation at work throughout the country . . . undermining old established systems and principles, and threatening to take away by plausible changes and alterations, the best and most efficient securities provided for the purity and perpetuity of free institutions. . . .

The mania called "*progress*," or, in the more usual cant phrase, "*reform*," is everywhere more or less agitating and disturbing society. This, with the cry of "*new times*," "*a new age*," is filling the minds of men with strange delusions, and bewildering communities with speculations and hopes, wild, visionary, and fallacious. . . .

Whatever superficial minds may think, the science of free government was as well and thoroughly understood in the days of our fathers as it ever was or ever will be; and the experience had under the institutions handed down by them to us, affords instruction, which it would be folly, if not madness, to reject. . . .

Vermont is, in the truest and best sense, a New England State. . . . Under her free and liberal constitution, she has hitherto exhibited the true republican spirit, and maintained the true republican character. Let her not abandon the dignity of her character, by adopting the follies or copying the vices, political or social, of any other people. . . .

"Anti-Radical" then turned to the question of representation:

. . . The corporate representation of towns is an established and consecrated part of our political system. It is an ancient right, originating and founded in the principles inherited from our fathers. It began with the beginning of the State government, and is coeval with its history. It is a franchise having the sanction and support of immemorial usage, and in no town will the people willingly consent to so much as even a partial surrender or abridgement of the privilege.

If the House possessed now, as it formerly did, essentially all legislative power, there would be strong reasons, upon the supposition that no other remedy could be provided, for a representation in it upon a more popular basis. But such is not the case. An ample remedy has been provided for the supposed defect; and the reason which might have been urged at one time, with much appearance of force, for a more equal representation has ceased to exist. It has been entirely obviated by the establishment of a Senate as a co-ordinate branch of the legislature, constituted upon the basis of population, and having an absolute negative upon the House; and by increasing the power of the Governor, elected by popular vote, so far as to give him a qualified

negative upon both. As a system of checks and balances, the proper adjustment of which always forms the chief excellence aimed at in constitutional governments, the government is now as perfect in its structure as any amendments of the constitution can make it.

It is idle to talk of perfect equality in representation, for perfect equality cannot be attained, under the existing civil divisions of the State, without breaking in upon old established rights, and subverting long cherished principles and usages. Whatever inequality of population exists in the different towns, time will in a measure correct. The progress in this respect, if slow, is sure, and a more general equality must at no distant day prevail. Besides, it is to be remembered that the small towns are located in no particular geographic quarter, but are distributed over the whole State, so that every county has more or less of them, and no one part can have much advantage in representation over another. It is also to be borne in mind that every town has peculiar interests and objects of its own, and that it is requisite it should have a representative in the legislature to take charge of its local interests and objects; and it is not to be doubted that such a representation makes the government more emphatically the government of the people, secures to it a greater degree of public confidence, and gives it of course more strength and stability. It is one of the most conservative features of the government. It is probably owing to that system of representation, more than to any thing else, that we have been, and are, so free from wild and extravagant legislation; from an improvident waste of public money; from a heavy public debt and oppressive taxation; and from an excessive and dangerous multiplication of corporations. The reason is obvious. The representatives from, and being responsible to, small communities, consisting in the most part of men of provident views and habits, are opposed to prodigal and unsafe legislation, while they are sufficiently liberal where the good of society or the public interest is to be advanced.

Inequality in representation is not always a defect, or attended with practical disadvantage. This is exemplified in the government of the United States, where, in one of the legislative branches, a large State has no greater representation than a smaller one. If it be said, that in consequence of the inequality in representation in this State, the large towns have not their proper influence in the government, the inquiry is, how is it in point of fact? If we judge from what has been done whenever the local interests of large towns have come in question, the conclusion that they have suffered from a want of power or influence in legislation is the last we should come to. In the large towns are congregated the merchants, the manufacturers, the educated and professional men. There also is the capital; and more than all, there is the press. If knowledge is power, so is wealth power; and where both are combined, with the might of the press superadded, there is little danger of the interests of the town suffering from the want of adequate representation.

The reader may lay the above document alongside the report of the Pomeroy committee, and he will then have before him in pretty complete form the two sides of the representative question; perhaps he can then make up his mind as to which had the better of the argument.

It may also strike him that in many respects the elements of the problem are exactly the same in the 1950's as they were a century ago.

Others took part in the controversy. A few days after he had published the opinions of "Anti-Radical," the editor of the *Watchman* gave his own:²⁶

It is a great error to suppose that the people of Vermont are not quite as fully represented in their government as, according to the principles of the wisest statesmen of this republican land, is ever desirable. The Senate and Executive are both direct representatives of the people numerically considered. True, the Senate is the smaller body; but its *power* is equal to that of the House, and far more effective than that of the House because in fewer hands. Is it desirable to have *no checks* in our government—no guards against the impulses of popular passion or prejudice? This is the real question. Just change the basis of representation in the House, or subject our Constitution to the will of a mere majority of the people, as is proposed, and we may soon have no checks—nay no fixed constitutional principles at all, but a series of experiments in government, from one septenary to another, and with a pretty sure chance of making a bad seven years' hit occasionally.

The reader should note well the manner in which this writer—and others—speaks of a "mere majority": it is one of the significant keys to their thinking.

A correspondent signing himself "Verd Mont" contributed a statistical analysis of the situation as it existed and of the effects of the proposed change, frankly expressing his fear of what the consequences would be if the large towns gained so much power in the Legislature:²⁷

... They say the present system is unequal. Do they make it equal by their proposition? Certainly not. But, they will answer, it approximates to equality. They say their proposition is in behalf of popular rights—I refer to the arguments of the committee who reported the amendments in the Council of Censors. ... They fear to have the new and important interests of the large towns controlled by a system of representation so unequal as the present. They virtually declare the interests of the larger towns to be adverse to the interests of the smaller towns, and seek by this proposition to acquire that which they do not possess, viz: the balance of power. If their interests are adverse, and are destined to become more so; if the larger towns cannot confide in the justice of the smaller towns, for the present and the future, the very proposition should make the small towns jealous of the rights and powers they now possess, and heedful lest, in some slumbering moment, their locks be shorn.

The House of Representatives under the present system, where all towns are represented, consists of 241 members. Under the proposed amendments,

26. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1849.

27. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1849.

if you take the census of 1840 as a basis for apportionment, thirteen members will be added to this body, and it is of some interest for the peoples of the Northern section of the State, for the inhabitants of the smaller towns, to know from what quarter that addition would come. The Southern and Western counties of Bennington, Windham, Windsor, Rutland, Chittenden, Orange and Addison, being the counties in which the larger towns destined to have "peculiar interests which they fear to have controlled" are located, would gain 11 members, and the Northern counties of Caledonia and Franklin, one member each. But the basis of the apportionment would be, not the census of 1840, but that of 1850. Let us view the subject in that relation. . . . The Southern and Western counties, then, whose interests are destined to be "peculiar" and identical, gain 29 members, and the northern counties gain but 12. . . .

. . . The large towns already exert an influence in the Legislature vastly beyond their numerical power, and this they will always be enabled to do. It is not because they have always had the ablest representatives,—yet when they have any particular object to attain, they select their strongest men to effect it—but because of their position and endowments. They have the wealth, the trade, and the commerce, the intellect and the learning of the State, and the facilities for expanding such endowments, mainly within their limits.—These are all sources of power, and it is by the force of these that the town of Burlington, or the town of Bennington, for example, is able to exert an influence in the Legislature equal to the county of Essex. What if they have not the numbers? If they have the impulsive power by which they can control the numbers, they have to all intents and purposes the advantage, and this advantage will be permanent, and continually increasing. Shall they have more, and the facilities for its accumulation to the alarming extent proposed? This is one of the questions to be determined by the delegates who are to be chosen on the 20th inst.

The *Caledonian* of St. Johnsbury was quoted as being of the opinion that there was a general feeling in favor of most of the proposed amendments, but that "the proposal to enlarge the representation for towns with 2500 and more inhabitants does not meet with so much favor in this section of the State."²⁸

VI

The constitutional convention met in January, 1850, at Montpelier. Immediately a dogfight broke out over the election of its president. The Democrats were supposed to be in control of the convention; but they ran into heavy weather when they tried to put over their man Vilas, of Chelsea, who had barely won election as the representative of his town under circumstances reportedly dubious. The *Free Press* gloated over the spectacle of "Democracy 'Up a Stump'!" In the end,

28. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1849.

Vilas failed of election and the choice for presiding officer finally fell upon Thomas Bartlett of Lyndon, after a prolonged deadlock during which numerous ballots were taken.²⁹

Once organized, the Convention made short work of the proportional representation amendment. Most of the day of January 5 was devoted to debate on it. Mr. Vilas, the Democratic leader, "led the figure" by offering brief objections to the amendment; he was followed by Mr. Pomeroy, its "principal advocate." The latter presented statistical evidence to prove the inequality of existing representation; he was supported by Whitney of Springfield, and Bingham of Charlotte. Opposition to the amendment was stated by Butler of Stowe, Willard of Barton, Adams of Milton, Field of Newfane, Benton of Lunenburgh, and many others. It was argued that inequality would still exist under the proposed system: a town of 2495 would have only one representative, while a town with only ten more inhabitants would have two. The opponents claimed also that "the people were already represented *too much*. If the object was to equalize representation, the proposal failed to reach it entirely:—it could only be obtained by districting the state."³⁰

On January 7 came the vote: 9 in favor, 218 against. The nine towns which voted for the amendment were: Bradford, Brattleboro, Burlington, Middlebury, Newbury, Pownal, Springfield, St. Albans, and Woodstock.³¹

Various conclusions may doubtless be drawn as to the significance of the outcome of this phase of the representation controversy; but it certainly seemed to illustrate again one aspect of political life in Vermont, noted in a letter published a few months later in the *Free Press*:³²

I well remember what a young man told me several years ago, who was about to leave York State, as he called it. 'I will not live in such a place,' said he, 'for I don't know what political party I belong to. It was not so in old Vermont; there I knew exactly how to vote Town meeting days, and I will take my back tracks.' And he did again seek the green hills and rich valleys of his native State.

29. *Burlington Free Press*, January 4, 1850. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention of 1850* (Burlington, 1850), 15-20.

30. *Burlington Free Press*, January 5, 1850.

31. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, 44-47.

32. *Burlington Free Press*, May 17, 1850.



VERMONT TOWN NAMES AND THEIR DERIVATIONS. III

In the October Quarterly we announced our determination to lay at rest, so far as humanly possible, the perennial question, "How did such and such a town get its name?" Mrs. Thesba N. Johnston's paper in October started us on our way. In the January issue, Mrs. Louise E. Koier, our assistant editor, aided and abetted by readers and members, carried the search for answers further. In this third article of the series, we are offering the comments of two of our wise members. In the meantime, we ask for all aid possible as we go on in our research, pointing toward the day when we can publish a booklet which will form some approach, at least, toward being definitive and final. A town name is a magnet that draws much historical detail to it: and we hope all who are interested will not let the detail slip away from them. Editor.

I. THE GENERAL HISTORIC BACKGROUND OF VERMONT TOWN NAMES *by* JOHN P. CLEMENT

IT WAS interesting to read the notes of Thesba Johnston on the names of towns. I began to make a few notes of my own, based primarily on the volume of *New Hampshire State Papers*, which prints verbatim the charters issued by Wentworth for Vermont towns and includes valuable notes by Hiram Huse. I also used the 1824 *Gazetteer* by Thompson and the index of an atlas. Mrs. Johnston may find these volumes, plus the Vermont Charters in the *Vermont State Papers* series, helpful supplements to those she has listed.

It should be understood, and some local authorities seldom do understand, that the names of towns are fixed by governmental authority. Wentworth and his council did the work on the early ones and later it was Chittenden and his Council, under legislative authority. Whether it was Wentworth, Colden or Chittenden, the charters were granted with names affixed. Even now, no town can change its own name. It must apply to the Legislature for a change.

So when it is said that the settlers or one of them gave a town its name, that inference is clearly wrong. If they asked the granting authority for a particular name, they would probably get it. But if they did not ask, or if merely a few asked, they were likely to get what the granting authority or his name selector happened to choose.

Evidently in some cases a group of people got together and petitioned for a specific town grant. At other times, lots of names were signed to requests for a grant in some town soon to be chartered. These names might then be split up among several charters. The town names assigned in such cases might favor (1) a group of applicants who could be helpful; (2) a single individual who was powerful or influential; (3) a region where there were prospective customers for the sale of rights.

It was notable before any towns were granted in what is now Vermont that town names tended to carry the old familiar place names into the new territory. This tendency has continued steadily, even to craggy ridges in Korea.

Vermont was settled largely by people from Massachusetts and Connecticut. Thus the bestowers of names were likely to pick Massachusetts or Connecticut place names, so that the persons who obtained the grants would like the sound of the names. Those who purchased from an original grantee would like a name with fond attachments.

The town and county histories contain many statements which the records of earlier days refute. That is because the historical essays were written, without consulting the records, on the basis of stories or folklore.

There seems to have been a pattern or series of patterns for the assignment of names to places. Some were named for the outstanding grantee, or the one the others wanted to honor; some for a prominent person; some for an older town; some by reason of making them sound like good agricultural prospects; some for religious reasons; some to promote relations with France, and perhaps other places. At least, the existing evidence, none of which is a record of official explanation, leads us to think these factors possible and sometimes probable.

Explanations which run counter to the pattern of possibilities need exploration. For instance, when someone says that Castleton was named for a man named Castle who owned large tracts from whom the first settler, Col. Bird, bought his rights, it is important to remember that the town was chartered in 1761 and explored by Col. Bird and Noah Lee in 1766. No person named Castle was listed among the grantees. No person named Castle appears in the land records or other records of that town during the 18th century.

Comments by Mr. Clement on Mrs. Johnston's List

1. ADDISON There was and is an Addison in Connecticut, which in

turn was probably named for the writer. In the absence of specific evidence that this Vermont town was named for Joseph Addison, perhaps the sale of rights in Connecticut was the important factor. But such a name sounded well in England; Wentworth may have liked it for both reasons.

2. ALBANY Chartered as Lutterlok, in honor of a proprietor or grantee of that name who was a Deputy Quartermaster General under Washington. In 1815 the name was changed to Albany, by act of legislature, perhaps for the reason stated.
3. ALBURG Alburg was almost certainly named for Allen, and is a contraction rather than a corruption.
4. ANDOVER There were towns of that name in Mass., Conn., and England. If there was another and more compelling reason, we do not know it.
5. ARLINGTON There is one in Mass., and probably one in England.
6. ATHENS Probably a classical name like Corinth, to tell the world Vermont was learned.
7. BAKERSFIELD Chartered and named in 1791. Settlement came later. Very possibly Baker was a grantee and settled. The book of Vermont charters should prove or disprove. [*The original charter gives only the name of Luke Knoulton and his heirs. But as is pointed out in Mr. Bamforth's notes, Luke Knowlton sold the grant to Joseph Baker, "of Bakersfield" a month after the grant was made. Baker settled there in 1789 or 1790. L.E.K.*]
8. BALTIMORE Baltimore could scarcely have been named, when it was set off in 1793 for anything but Baltimore, Md.
9. BARNARD Barnard was chartered as Bernard and Sir Francis Bernard was the first-named grantee. He had just been governor of New York and was then (1761) governor of Massachusetts. Probably the name was pronounced Barnard.
10. BARNET Chartered in 1763 and settled in 1770, not by Scotch. The latter came after the Revolution, as a result of Alexander Harvey's purchase in 1774. There is a Barnet in Herts, England, from which the name probably derives.
11. BARRE Barre was chartered as stated. The name was changed by the legislature, perhaps as the result of a petition following the fabled contest.
12. BARTON Obviously named as stated.
13. BELVIDERE Seems to derive from no other town. But it was a name for a fine view and a sort of summer house whence to enjoy it.

14. BENNINGTON The story rings true. There is another town by this name in New Hampshire, and I have been told there is one in England.
15. BENSON Benson was named by Vermont because Benson, the man, had been helpful. But Meacham, who may have suggested it, certainly did not bestow it.
16. BERKSHIRE Berkshire is the name of a town and county in Mass., which is more likely the reason for its name, bestowed by Vermont in 1781, than Berkshire, England.
17. BERLIN New Hampshire and Massachusetts have towns of this name. But perhaps it was for the Prussian city, also.
18. BETHEL Chartered by Vermont in 1779, may have been a reminder of Bethel, Conn. The first settlers came from Connecticut. Dudley Chase was a grantee.
19. BLOOMFIELD Bloomfield may have been named for Bloomfield, Conn.
20. BOLTON The name is found in Conn., Mass., and England. [*Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, implies that as a Benning Wentworth grant of 1763 the town was named for Charles Paulet, Duke of Bolton. L.E.K.*]
21. BRADFORD Statement likely. First chartered, 1770 N. Y., it was, Mooretown, changed to Bradford by Vermont, 1788. Rhode Island and England have Bradfords.
22. BRAINTREE Chartered by Vermont in 1781 to residents of Braintree, Mass., who settled it in 1783. There is also a Braintree, England.
23. BRANDON Chartered in 1761 as Neshobe in honor of an Indian scout. Vermont changed the name to Brandon in 1784. Perhaps it was named for Brandon in England or elsewhere. [*In Historic New Hampshire, Nov., 1950, p. 46, it is suggested that the town was named for James Hamilton, Duke of Brandon. L.E.K.*]
24. BRATTLEBORO Obviously as stated.
25. BRIDGEWATER Name of towns in Mass., Conn., New Hampshire and England.
26. BRIDPORT There is a town of this name in England. [*See also derivation given in Jan. 1953 Quarterly. L.E.K.*]
27. BRIGHTON Chartered by Vermont as Random for reason stated, probably. Name changed to Brighton in 1832. There are places of this name in Nova Scotia and Ontario, but the name may have come from the English resort town of Brighton, England.
28. BRISTOL Chartered as Pocock in 1762. Name changed to Bristol

in 1789. In addition to Bristol, Conn., there were towns of the same name in England, Mass., R. I., and N. H.

29. **BROOKFIELD** There are towns of the same name in Conn., Mass., and New Hampshire.

30. **BROOKLINE** There are towns of the same name in Mass. and New Hampshire.

31. **BROWNINGTON** Town of this name not found. The explanation is reasonable.

32. **BRUNSWICK** There was no British Duke of Brunswick, but there was a German Duke of that name. [*This was Prince Ferdinand, Duke of Brunswick, who was in charge of the forces against the French on the Continent while Gen. Amherst was conducting the war in America against the French. He was a relative of King George I by marriage. See Historic New Hampshire, November, 1950, which implies that the town was named for Prince Ferdinand. It was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1761. L.E.K.*]

33. **BURKE** Granted by Vermont, 1782. There may have been a grantee or other person connected with it, of that name. The name is not common as a New England place name. The chances are good that it was in honor of Edmund Burke, Irish statesman, who supported the American cause in the British cabinet and Parliament.

34. **BURLINGTON** This 1763 grant of N. H. was, as stated, probably in honor of the Burling family, none of whom was a grantee in the town. However, there were nine Burlings listed as grantees in Colchester and several in other towns. There are Burlingtons in Conn., Mass., and N. J. The latter was, it is said, named for Bridlington in England, pronounced Burlington; so the N. J. town changed the spelling to match the pronunciation. [*As this was a Benning Wentworth grant, it also seems possible that it might have been named for Richard Boyle, Earl of Burlington, a relative of the Wentworth family. See p. 16, Historic New Hampshire, November, 1950. L.E.K.*]

35. **CABOT** Granted by Vermont, 1781. The name, uncommon as a place name, may well have originated as mentioned.

36. **CALAIS** Granted and named by Vermont, 1781. Jacob Davis was one of the grantees. It seems likely that this name, like the others of French origin, was selected because of the suggestion of St. Jean de Crevecoeur, French Consul General, that Vermont might gain favor in France by naming towns for French places or per-

- sons. This suggestion was made in a letter to Ethan Allen. Jacob Davis' connection with the naming seems remote.
37. CAMBRIDGE Possibly for Cambridge, England or Cambridge, Mass., or both.
 38. CANAAN As stated, probably for town of same name in Connecticut. There is another in N. H.
 39. CASTLETON Castleton. The Hemenway story would be good, except for the fact that there was no grantee named Castle in the 1761 N. H. charter of this town; and a careful examination of the land records indicates that no Castle bought, sold or held land in the town until around 1820, when there was a minor purchase by a Castle. There are places of this name in England, Ireland and New York, sometimes as Castletown. In Ireland there is a noted country estate named Castleton, which descended to one William Conolly, who married in 1733 Lady Anne Wentworth, daughter of the Earl of Strafford. She was probably a relative of Benning Wentworth. The place was very large and magnificent, noted for its boundless hospitality. Col. Bird, by the way, did not reach the town until 1766; he was not a grantee.
 40. CAVENDISH There is no easy explanation of this name, except as to honor the well-known English family of that name, of which the Dukes of Devonshire were members. One Cavendish was a noted scientist at the time of this grant (1761). [*This explanation is also favored in Historic New Hampshire, November, 1950, p. 9. L.E.K.*]
 41. CHARLESTON Granted by Vermont in 1781 by the name of Navy. The name was changed by act of the legislature in 1825, perhaps as a reminder of Charleston, Mass., New Hampshire or Rhode Island or Charleston, N. C., all of which may have been named for Charles I or Charles II. But neither king could have been the intended recipient of honors by the Vermont legislature of 1825.
 42. CHARLOTTE Granted in 1762. May have been named for Queen Charlotte, wife of George III, who came to the throne in 1760.
 43. CHELSEA Chartered as Turnersborough in 1781, was named Chelsea in 1788 by act of legislature. It may have been named for Chelsea, Mass. or Chelsea, England.
 44. CHESTER This was the name given in 1766 by a New York confirmatory patent to a town chartered in 1754 by N. H. as Flamstead, and rechartered, 1761, as New Flamstead. There are Chesters in Mass., Conn., N. H., and England. [*See Jan. 1953, Quarterly, p. 11. L.E.K.*]

45. CHITTENDEN Obviously as stated.
46. CLARENDON Chartered in 1761. Probably named in honor of Earl of Clarendon. [*See Jan. 1953 Quarterly, p. 11. L.E.K.*]
47. COLCHESTER Granted by N. H. in 1763. There is a Colchester in Conn. and in England, the latter being a river port in Essex north of London. [*See p. 12, Jan. Quarterly. L.E.K.*]
48. CONCORD A Vermont grant of 1781. May have been named for Concord, Mass., Concord, N. H. or both, or maybe to denote harmony. [*Granted to Reuben Jones and associates. As many of the grantees were from Mass., it seems likely that it was named for Concord, Mass. L.E.K.*]
49. CORINTH Most likely named for the ancient Greek city. No towns of that name located in New England though there may have been some. This charter, dated 1764, came at about the end of the N. H. grants, before the King in Council prohibited further grants. There may have been a last rush for names, with results like Pullman Car names.
50. CORNWALL Doubtless named for Cornwall, Conn. as stated. Cornwall, England was the source for that name. [*As this was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1761, it might have been named, as suggested on p. 21 of Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, for Frederick Lewis, Prince of Wales and Duke of Cornwall, whose premature death opened the way for the accession of his son, King George III. L.E.K.*]
51. COVENTRY Named by Vermont, 1780, doubtless for Coventry, Conn., former home of Elias Buel, a leading grantee. There is a Coventry in R. I., home of Gen. Nathaniel Greene and, of course, Coventry, England.
52. CRAFTSBURY Obviously as stated.
53. DANBY Perhaps it was named for Danby, England or the Earl of Danby, Duke of Leeds, or a descendant of the prominent Danby family, since it was a New Hampshire grant of 1761. [*See also p. 48 of Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, where the Earl of Denbigh, Privy Councillor in the reign of George II and cup-bearer at the coronation of George III is given as the source for the name. L.E.K.*]
54. DANVILLE Vermont grant of 1786. Probably named for French Admiral D'Anville, at suggestion of St. Jean de Crevecoeur.
55. DERBY A Vermont grant of 1779. Probably named for Derby, Conn. This was a more likely source than Derby, England or the

- Earl of Derby. [*Timothy Andrews, principal grantee, was a Connecticut man. L.E.K.*]
56. DORSET A New Hampshire grant of 1761. Not a New England name; it may be in honor of the town, county or Earl of Dorset, England. [*See p. 12, Jan. 1953 Quarterly. L.E.K.*]
 57. DOVER Incorporated 1810 from part of Wardsboro and three military grants by New Hampshire and named at that time. There were Dovers in England, Massachusetts, and New Hampshire.
 58. DUMMERSTON Obviously as stated. It was first chartered as Fullam. (Although the town was long known as Dummerston, my recollection is that this name was not authorized by the Legislature until 1937). [*Vermont Charters, Vermont State Papers, p. 287, states that in 1716, Dummerston was sold at auction by Connecticut to the Hon. William Dummer, and that it was part of a tract of land granted by Mass. to Conn. in exchange for lands granted by the former in the territory of the latter through mistake. L.E.K.*]
 59. DUXBURY Probably as stated.
 60. EAST HAVEN Perhaps for East Haven, Mass.
 61. EAST MONTPELIER As stated. See Montpelier.
 62. EDEN Chartered by Vermont in 1781. Name not found in New England. Might be for a royal governor of Maryland named Eden, but more likely Biblical, like Goshen, Canaan, Bethel, etc.
 63. ELMORE As stated.
 64. ENOSBURG As stated—granted to Enos and 59 others.
 65. ESSEX A New Hampshire grant of 1763. Places of this name in Mass., Conn., N. J. and New York. Also a county in England in which Colchester, England is located. Also, Earl of Essex.
 66. FAIRFAX A New Hampshire grant of 1763, probably named for Lord Fairfax, the English lord who came to Virginia, where he had vast estates. It seems unlikely that the first settlers, who came from New Hampshire in 1783, could have named it in 1763, or came from Fairfax, England. The name was given by the Governor of New Hampshire in 1763.
 67. FAIRFIELD Granted by New Hampshire in 1763. Probably named for Fairfield, Conn. The name, of course, indicates a good place to settle.
 68. FAIR HAVEN May derive its name from a place of the same name in Mass., R. I., or England. Or, as above, it may have been used to indicate a good place to settle.
 69. FAIRLEE Was granted by New Hampshire in 1761. Whether it was seen by a British soldier before that date is unknown.

There is a Fairlee or Fairlea in Scotland. Again, it was a good real estate promotion term.

70. FAYSTON Probably as stated.
71. FERRISBURG Almost certainly named for the Ferris grantees, eight of whom appear in the charter of 1762.
72. FLETCHER Granted by Vermont in 1781. The Vermont charter may include such a name. It is not a common place name. May be suggested by the name of an ancestor of Governor Fletcher Proctor or the Fletcher family of Cavendish. [*See comments of Eugene Bamforth, appended. L.E.K.*]
73. FRANKLIN There are towns of this name in Mass., Conn., N. H., N. J., and N. Y. Chartered in 1789 by Vermont. The best guess might be that the name was in honor of Benjamin Franklin.
74. GEORGIA A New Hampshire charter of 1763. It can be guessed that this name was in honor of King George. [*See p. 21, Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, which gives King George as source of name. L.E.K.*]
75. GLASTENBURY There is a town of this name in Conn. and an earlier one in England.
76. GLOVER Granted by Vermont in 1783 to Gen. John Glover and others. Evidently named for him. He lived and died in Massachusetts. Congress made no land grants in Vermont.
77. GOSHEN Granted by Vermont, 1783 and chartered in 1792. There are towns of this name in Conn., Mass. and N. H. Whether Aaron Hutchinson had anything to do with the name is not clear on the basis of evidence I have. Obviously a Biblical name.
78. GRAFTON Granted by New Hampshire in 1754 as Thomlinson. Name changed to Grafton by act of 1792. There are towns of this name in Mass. and New Hampshire. It seems unlikely that the Vermont legislature in 1792 would be honoring the bastard son of Charles II. [*None of the original proprietors settled in the town. As the early settlers came for the most part from New Hampshire, it seems likely that the Vermont town was named for the New Hampshire one. L.E.K.*]
79. GRANBY A New Hampshire grant of 1761. There were towns of this name in Conn. and Mass. These probably had some influence on its naming, although an English background is likely. [*According to p. 47, Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, the name was given in honor of John Manners, Marquis of Granby, a Privy Councillor and Lord Justice of England who was bearer of the Queen's*

Sceptre with the Cross at the coronations of both George II and George III. L.E.K.]

80. GRAND ISLE The present town of Grand Isle is the northern part of the largest island of this group, first called Grande Isle. Vermont chartered this largest island and the next in size, north of it, as one town, Two Heroes. These were split into North Hero for the north island and South Hero for the south. The latter was split into South Hero, its southern part; and Grand Isle, its northern part.
81. GRANVILLE Was chartered by Vermont in 1781 as Kingston (perhaps for Kingston, N. Y. or elsewhere) and undoubtedly named for a family named King, three of whom were grantees. The name was changed by act of 1834 to Granville. There are towns of that name in Mass. and New York, also France.
82. GREENSBORO Chartered by Vermont in 1781. Named probably as stated.
83. GROTON A Vermont grant of 1789. Groton, Mass., Conn., or New Hampshire may have influenced the choosing of this name.
84. GUILDHALL Guildhall was a New Hampshire grant of 1761 and may have been named for a town of that name in England or for the famous Guildhall of London.
85. GUILFORD Probably as stated.
86. HALIFAX A New Hampshire charter of 1750. There are towns of this name in Mass., Nova Scotia and England. There is also the Earl of Halifax. [*Ed. Note: See p. 34 of Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, which gives George Montague, Earl of Halifax, also called the "Father of the Colonies" as a source for this name. L.E.K.*]
87. HANCOCK A Vermont charter of 1781. Towns of this name in Conn., Mass. and New Hampshire. John Hancock of Mass., president of the Continental Congress, may have been the source of this name, or it may have been a combination.
88. HARDWICK Probably as stated.
89. HARTFORD Probably as stated.
90. HARTLAND Chartered by New Hampshire in 1761 as Hertford. Had its name changed by Vermont act of 1782 to Hartland, to avoid confusion with Hartford. The English name is Hertford, a town and county. It was pronounced Hartford, just as clerk was pronounced "clark." Just to make things right, there is a town named Hartland in England.
91. HIGHGATE New Hampshire charter of 1763. May well have been named for Highgate, England.

92. HINESBURG New Hampshire charter of 1762. Two men named Hine were grantees.
93. HOLLAND A Vermont charter of 1779. May reflect the name of a town in Massachusetts or New York of that name. It might also reflect the English name for the Netherlands.
94. HUBBARDTON Thomas Hubbard was put down in the charter as the Hon. Thomas Hubbard, Esq., although there are many others. Probably it was named for him.
95. HUNTINGTON New Hampshire charter of 1763 as New Huntington. The charter lists as grantees: Joshua, Charles, and Marmaduke Hunt, for whom the town may have been named. But there is no mention of Jonathan Hunt in the charter. You can check this with the Hemenway citation, to see how far astray Miss Hemenway's local investigators sometimes went.
96. HYDE PARK Chartered by Vermont in 1781. The name was a natural one for a town with a leading proprietor named Hyde. Hyde Park in London was well known and Hyde Park, New York, was also familiar. [*In the original charter, in which it is called "Hyde's Park," there are three grantees named Hyde: Jedediah Hyde, Esq., Peleg Hyde and Jedediah Hyde, Junior. L.E.K.*]
97. IRA As stated.
98. IRASBURG A Vermont charter to Ira Allen and 63 others. Very probably named for Ira Allen.
99. ISLE LA MOTTE Probably as stated.
100. JAMAICA Vermont charter of 1780. There are places of that name in Mass. and New York as well as the West Indies.

[Note by Mr. Clement: This comment on the names of 100 of the towns on Thesba Johnston's list does not, by any means, exhaust all the evidence. One thing is clear to me. There is no record of official nature in any case, which proves the reason for the various towns, beyond all doubt. In the case of Barnard, where the charter spells it *Bernard* and lists "Francis Bernard, Esq." or Brattleboro, which starts with "William Brattle," or the Two Heroes, where the original charter, now in the Bennington Museum, mentions in large letters at the first of the list of grantees, Ethan Allen and Samuel Herrick, and two hundred or more others, there can be little doubt as to the reason for a name. But there is no absolute certainty because the namers, acting in official capacity in bestowing the names, gave no reasons. Consequently, we cannot now state, positively, the reason or reasons for the names of any Vermont towns, since there is no contemporary record of reasons.]

2. COMMENTS ON LISTS IN THE OCTOBER AND JANUARY QUARTERLIES

by EUGENE L. BAMFORTH

ABBREVIATIONS

H *The Vermont Historical Gazetteer*, edited by Abby Maria Hemenway

HC *New Hampshire Grants, Charters of Townships in Vermont. New Hampshire State Papers, Vol. XXVI (Town Charters, vol. III). A. S. Batchellor, Ed.*

Q *Vermont Quarterly*

VC *State Papers of Vermont—Vol. II—Charters granted by the State of Vermont. Harry A. Black, Secretary of State.*

5 AVERILL, FERDINAND, LEWIS.

These are unincorporated towns. For name derivations, see Q July, 1952, pp. 205, 206. Samuel Averill was a grantee of Averill. Nathan, Timothy and Seignior Lewis, Jr. were not grantees of Lewis, although they were grantees of other towns. HC, pp. 17, 170, 264, 772.

7 BAKERSFIELD

Joseph Baker probably settled in "Knowlton's Gore" in 1789 or 1790. A charter specifying the name Bakersfield was issued Jan. 25, 1791 to Luke Knoulton, who sold the whole town to "Joseph Baker of Bakersfield, so called" Feb. 21 of the same year. H, vol. 2, p. 103. VC, pp. 14, 262.

8 BALTIMORE (Q, Jan., 1953)

78 GRAFTON

16 BERKSHIRE

104 KIRBY (Q, Jan. 1953)

23 BRANDON

131 NEWARK (Q, Jan., 1953)

41 CHARLSTON

159 RICHMOND

43 CHELSEA

176 SHEFFIELD

55 DERBY

These towns, granted by Vermont or renamed by legislative enactment, are said to have been named after English towns or English nobles. It seems unlikely that such names would have been assigned after 1776. In the case of Richmond, possibly the Richmond granted by New York (Wells and vicinity) was confused with the Vermont grant.

VC, p. 340

9 BARNARD

Chartered as Bernard in 1761, with Francis Bernard, Esq. and two other Bernards among the grantees. Francis Bernard became royal governor of Mass. the previous year. HC, p. 22.

22 BRAINTREE	156 READING (Q, Jan. 1953)
55 DERBY	191 STRAFFORD
66 FAIRFAX	210 WALLINGFORD
112 LUNENBERG	237 WINDSOR
132 NEWBURY (Q, Jan. 1953)	243 WOODSTOCK

It is stated that early settlers named these after their home towns. Actually, towns were named by charter, usually before any settlers arrived. Possibly these names are those of the towns whence some of the grantees came. Of course, many of the grantees became settlers, but the towns had names before they became such. In the case of Braintree, we are told that many of the grantees were from Braintree, Mass.

H, vol. 2, p. 845.

[In the case of Lunenberg, a New Hampshire grant incorporated by Benning Wentworth in 1763, evidence is cited on p. 20, 21 of Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, that the town was named in honor of the German principality of Lunenberg inherited by George II from his mother.]

Likewise, the town of Strafford is cited on p. 5 of the same publication as named in honor of William Wentworth, Earl of Strafford, and there seems good reason to believe that this was so, since Strafford was a Benning Wentworth grant. Reading was a Benning Wentworth grant (of 1761) and might well have been named for Reading, England.

Newbury was also a Benning Wentworth grant of 1763 and Jacob Bayley of Newbury, Mass., was one of the principal grantees. (See vol. 2, p. 919 of Hemenway's Gazetteer).

Windsor was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1761. Evidence is cited on p. 43 of Historic New Hampshire, Nov. 1950, that the town was named in honor of John Stuart, Earl of Windsor.

The same publication cites evidence on p. 14 that Woodstock, Vt., was named in honor of Sir William Bentinck, Viscount Woodstock, who was related to the Wentworths by marriage. L.E.K.]

29 BROOKFIELD	160 RIPTON
30 BROOKLINE	189 STOCKBRIDGE
57 DOVER (Q, Jan. 1953)	206 VERSHIRE
69 FAIRLEE	229 WEYBRIDGE

The explanations for the above names have a "lamentable affair" flavor. While they might be retained as good stories, it would seem desirable to look about for more plausible alternatives. *[We agree heartily with Mr. Bamforth. We find that several of the*

original grantees of Brookfield were Massachusetts men and believe there is evidence to presume that the town may have well been named for the older town of Brookfield, Mass.

In the case of Brookline, incorporated out of Putney and Athens in 1794 and settled largely by Massachusetts men, evidence points to Brookline, Mass. as the source for its name.

Dover was not incorporated until 1810, but its first settler, at the time it was known as Wardsboro, was Abner Perry, who came from Holliston, Mass., in 1779. Most of the early settlers were from Massachusetts, although a few were from Conn. The early settlement known as Dover Farms, which was part of Dedham, Mass., may have inspired this name. Dover, N. H., which dates from 1623, would be a possible source except that we find no record of settlers coming from New Hampshire.

Fairlee was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1761 to Josiah Chauncy and associates. It may have been named, as John Clement suggests, for Fairlea, Scotland.

Ripton or Riptown, as it was spelled in the charter of 1781 granted by Gov. Chittenden, was granted to Abel Thompson and associates, but we find no clue to the source of its name.

Stockbridge was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1761 to William Lodge and his associates. It may have been named for Stockbridge, Mass., an older town.

Weybridge was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1761 to Joseph Gilbert and associates. It seems probable that it was named for Weybridge, England.

Vershire was a Vermont grant of 1781 to Abner Seelye and associates. Abner Seelye was a Captain of the Cumberland County Rangers of 1776, but we have no further clues. L.E.K.]

103 JOHNSON

"The Hon. William Samuel Johnson, Esq." (Not Samuel William) was one of the three chief grantees.

VC, pp. 111, 310

109 LONDONDERRY

Granted by New York as Kent in 1770 to James Rogers and associates. Rogers was among the first settlers who came in 1773. The town was chartered by Vermont as Londonderry in 1780, presumably named after Londonderry, N. H., whence came Rogers and probably other settlers. Hemenway says "at the request of the town, it was called Londonderry."

H, vol. 5, pt. 3, pp. 15, 16; VC, pp. 127, 312.

127 MORGAN

Granted as Caldersburg in 1780, the grantees including Inneas and John Calder, but no Morgans. The name was changed to Morgan in 1801. The first settlers came in 1802. Hemenway says, "the town took its name from one of the original proprietors, John Morgan, Esq. of Hartford, Ct., of whom the first settlers purchased their land." Presumably he was an early, not an original proprietor. There was a John Morgan among the grantees of the adjacent town of Derby.

H, vol. 3, p. 384; VC, pp. 40, 59, 325.

130 MOUNT TABOR

Granted as Harwick in 1761. To avoid confusion with Hardwick, its name was changed to Mount Tabor in 1803, presumably to honor Gideon Tabor, a prominent citizen, who was, among other things, first moderator and representative for many years. "Mount" might have been added because almost all of the town is mountainous. But possibly it was not as direct as that. There is in the southern part of the town and in the northern part of Peru, a mountain culminating, over the line in Peru, with a peak called Mt. Tabor. Hitchcock's *Geology of Vermont* (1861) and Child's *Gazetteer* (1881-2) refer to "Mt. Tabor in Mt. Tabor," suggesting that the whole mountain was once known by that name. It may have been so designated by early residents, having in mind their distinguished fellow citizen and also the Biblical mount. If the mountain was known as Mt. Tabor before 1803, it can be said that the town was named after the mountain. H, vol. 3, pp. 866, 867; HC, p. 692. *Report on the Geology of Vermont*, 1861, by Edward Hitchcock et al, vol. 2, p. 873. *Gazetteer and Business Directory of Rutland County, Vt. for 1881-1882*. Compiled and published by Hamilton Child. USGS map—Wallingford Quadrangle.

133 NEWFANE

"Fane" was granted to Abner (not Abraham) Sawyer and others in 1753. There were no Fanes among the grantees in this or the "New Fane" (1761) charter. A reasonable explanation of the name is found in Hemenway under Townshend.

H, vol. 5, pt. 2, pp. 455, 456, 532 (Townshend)

HC, pp. 310, 314

[Suggested on p. 17, *Historic New Hampshire*, Nov. 1950 that Newfane was named for John Fane, Earl of Westmoreland for whom Benning Wentworth named Westmoreland, N. H. According to this

publication, Fane (New Fane) was a Benning Wentworth grant of 1752. L.E.K.]

137 NORTH HERO

184 SOUTH HERO

The charter for Two Heroes, the original town, names Ethan Allen and Samuel Herrick as co-chief grantees. Ira Allen is inconspicuous as fifth associate.

VC, p. 192

146 PITTSFIELD

148 PLAINFIELD

Charles Goodrich of Pittsfield, Mass., was a grantee and settler of Pittsfield, Vermont. He was a grantee of other towns, but not Plainfield, which got its name when it was incorporated in 1798.

H, vol. 3, p. 935

VC, pp. 78, 80, 82, 89, 160

[First granted in 1788 as St. Andrews Gore to James Whitelaw, James Savage and William Coit. These men deeded their claims to Ira Allen and Gamaliel Painter. The town may have been named for Plainfield, Mass. or Plainfield, Conn. L.E.K.]

150 POMFRET

Granted in 1761 to Isaac Dana of Pomfret, Conn. and associates, who includes several other Danas. This was nine years before Durkee is said to have arrived.

HC, p. 354

History of Eastern Vermont, by Benjamin H. Hall, 1858, p. 107.

192 STRATTON

Granted in 1761 with no Strattons among the grantees. The first settlers did not arrive until 1783. The Index to Hemenway lists "Stratton Family, of Stratton," but the pages referred to indicate that the Stratton family was far removed from the town. The most reasonable guess seems to be that Gov. Wentworth chose arbitrarily an English place name. Hammond's *World Atlas*, 1947, lists Stratton and Bude, Long Stratton and Stretton.

H, vol. 5, pt. 2, pp. 330 to 336, 520

HC, pp. 471, 472 H index, p. 1098

203 UNDERHILL

Among the grantees were Benjamin Underhill and Underhill Horton, but no Abraham Underhill. Benjamin Underhill, a grantee of several other towns, seems to be the one honored. HC, pp. 513, 768, 787

208 WAITSFIELD

Gen. Waite was a co-chief grantee of Waitsfield, chartered in 1782.

VC, p. 199

238 WINHALL

There were six Halls among the grantees, Capt. Eliakin Hall being the one whose name appears most often in other charters. No Winns were grantees of Winhall, although four were grantees of other towns. None of the Halls' first names suggests "Win."

Hc, pp. 572, 765, 791





LETTERS FROM THE PAST

In the last Quarterly we said farewell to Andrew and Mathilda Roberts of Walden, Vt., with the publication of the final letters they exchanged while Andrew was in the California gold fields. Now we turn to letters and a journal written by two young Vermont missionaries a century ago. The letters and journal came to us through the kindness of Mr. C. R. Ranney of Springfield, Vt. His notes are indicated by the signature, C.R.R. Editor.

THE LETTERS AND JOURNAL OF TWO VERMONT MISSIONARIES

Introductory Note by Mr. Ranney

THE present generation cannot appreciate the convenience of an attic. Modern houses do not afford such a luxury. The old-fashioned attic was a place where all those things which are now put into the trash can and set out for the rubbish man to collect used to be stored away and forgotten until the family moved or some equal disaster struck. On rainy days when the children of the family could not play out of doors, they used to climb to the attic and play with the treasures stored there. It was in such an attic that I played in my boyhood.

After my mother's death, my father decided to sell the house, and it became my duty to assist my father in cleaning and sorting the accumulation in the attic of thirty or forty years. While we were thus engaged my father remarked, "Here are some papers that the Vermont Historical Society might like." I immediately became interested and began looking at them. They were a bundle of letters and a diary written from Indian territory by my paternal grandfather and grandmother during the years from 1844 to 1861, while they were serving as missionaries under the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions.

When I discovered what these papers were, I claimed them for my own and decided I would, at least, read them before turning them over to the Society. As I found time I began deciphering them. The paper was old and yellow and the ink was faded with age. As opportunity offered, I copied them, typing them by my one-finger method. Much of the material was of no special interest except to those of immediate family; however, some of the material seemed of more or less general historical value. The writer has endeavored here to sort out such material as will give the reader some idea of the nature of the

life lived, and the conditions under which missionaries of that period worked.

In 1658, Thomas Ranney arrived in this country from Scotland and obtained a grant of a house lot in the settlement on the Great River which later became Middletown, Conn. Three generations later Thomas' great grandson Ephriam found the settlements in Connecticut too crowded and joined the tide of emigration up the valley. In 1761, the Governor of New Hampshire granted this Ephriam Ranney lot #7 in the township which later became Westminster in the State of Vermont. In 1771, one of Ephraim's sons Elijah went over the hills to the west part of the same township, cleared land, and built a log cabin home. Soon came Lexington and Concord. Ephriam and three sons including Elijah enlisted and served through the war. After the war Elijah returned to his log cabin where with his son Joseph they improved the land and built a more substantial house. On this farm in 1815 Timothy Emerson Ranney was born: the seventh of the sixteen children of Joseph Ranney.

This line of pioneers were God-fearing Puritans and very active in establishing churches in the communities in which they settled, Joseph Ranney being one of the first deacons of the West Parish church of Westminster. It is evident that Timothy was reared in a devoutly religious atmosphere. Along with his religious training the importance of education was stressed. Between seasons of farm work he gained sufficient elementary schooling to enter Phillips Exeter Academy from which he graduated and went on to Middlebury College. In those days anyone obtaining a college degree was expected to enter one of the professions. Timothy had early decided upon the ministry. Immediately after finishing at Middlebury in 1839 he took a course at Andover Theological Seminary. It was while here that he made up his mind to become a missionary. In the language of that day, "He was called to carry the gospel to the heathen." At about this time he met Charlotte Taylor, a young lady who had an unusual education for a woman of that time. She was teaching school in Ashby, Mass. Being deeply religious, she was impressed by the need of "carrying the Gospel to the heathen." It was natural that these two missionary spirits should be mutually attracted.

As Mr. Ranney had borrowed money to cover the expense of his education, he felt it his duty to clear himself of his indebtedness before starting for heathen lands. He contracted with the church in Barnet, Vt., to act as their pastor for one year in order to earn enough to pay his debts. During this year, he corresponded with Charlotte

Taylor, making plans for their marriage and future work in the mission field together. This correspondence was formal and hardly of the nature that would be called love letters to-day. These early letters do, however, show the earnestness with which these young people looked forward to their career.

The letter bearing the earliest date and evidently the first that Timothy ever wrote to Charlotte is quoted here in full. What young man to-day would address the lady of his choice in this formal manner? C.R.R.

I

My Dear Miss Charlotte:— Westminster West, Vt. Oct. 4, 1842

I have now taken my pen to fulfill an engagement which I made with you when I was at Ashby. I trust you will allow me to express myself without any reserve as I did when I saw you last. I feel much hesitation when commencing a correspondence of so much importance as the present. I hope it is not done without the approbation of the Heavenly Father to whom I am accustomed to look for direction in every undertaking. In the smallest affairs his blessing is necessary for success and I would desire to begin and conduct all our communications with a feeling that their success depends entirely upon Him.

I have often tried to imagine what would be your feelings for the week past that I might better understand how to communicate my own, but every effort of this kind has only involved me in greater difficulty. At times I seem to see you at the Throne of Grace imploring the aid of "Him who seeth in secret and who rewardeth openly." Perhaps you like myself have spent many hours meditating upon our future course. Perhaps you have been in company but your thoughts have not been there. I would gladly think myself worthy of one anxious thought but more gladly would I think the cause of my Savior worthy of many anxious thoughts.

Perhaps you have asked the advice of friends and they have not been ready to sympathize with you. Perhaps they can see no reason why you should desire to carry the Gospel to the destitute in heathen lands. It may be that they have brought forward a thousand objections which you know not how to answer. Perhaps my imaginings have been all in vain. Friends may have been favorably disposed but your own feelings may be at a variance with my own.

Will you have the kindness to inform me if any of my imaginings be true, if you have difficulties let them be known to me, that I may be able to understand them, and if possible to remove them?

If you have mentioned the subject of our last conversation to your parents or friends, please let me know the result of your communications with them.

I have thought of addressing a letter to your parents and will do so now (with your permission) if you will give me their address. I might fill out this letter with words and phrases often used to express the attachment of one individual for another, but I know you have too much good sense to be carried away with stereotype phrases which often express but little more than that he who uses them has read in love ditties till he is nearly or quite sick with love. I will assure you of my sincere affection for you which is as strong a statement as the extent of our acquaintance will permit me to make.

I have much more that I might say but for the present shall be satisfied with,

Subscribing myself, Yours Truly, Timothy Emerson Ranney
[Following this initial effort there are letters dated at about two-week intervals. A few quotations are chosen to illustrate the character of the whole correspondence. C.R.R.]

2.

My Dear Charlotte:— Westminster West, Vt. Oct. 18, 1842.

I have this moment finished a letter addressed to your parents and have now undertaken to answer yours of the eleventh instant which was received last week. . . I was glad to hear that you had mentioned the object of our communication to your friends and I was still more pleased not to hear from your friends serious objections to the accomplishment of that which at present seems to me most desirable. . .

If want of preparation can be a great objection to your going among the heathen as a companion of the missionary, then may all say the same or I have been misinformed. Not that I doubt that you sincerely feel what you express, for who does not feel it? The "Great Apostle of the Gentiles" when reflecting upon it asks "Who is sufficient for these things?" . . .

You wish to know what acquirements would be most useful. As respects this I must think your own judgement with what advice you can obtain from the mothers about you will be much more serviceable than anything I might say. To quote from Rev. Mr. Meigs "A good knowledge of domestic affairs is more important than anything else." Some knowledge of medicine such as may be obtained by being with the sick may be of good service. There may be much need of learning to take care of one's own health. Health of

body as well as of mind is of highest importance to enable anyone to make an effort for the good of others. While I am making these remarks allow me to add one more thing, and that is that it would be pleasant as it seems to me to be able to sing. "Music can sooth the savage mind" it is said. . .

Be sure you are and have been remembered in my petitions to The Throne of Grace. It is my ardent prayer to God that He will guide you in the way of all truth and point out the way of duty and will open to you a door of usefulness.

Accept this from Timothy Emerson Ranney.

3.

My Dear Charlotte:—

Barnet, Vt. Jan. 17, 1843.

. . . When I was at Ashby I made a remark regarding the time when I shall be able to enter on my field of labor as a missionary. I was then hoping to be able to go in the spring. Now I find that it will not be possible to clear my debts as the times are and get ready to go under one year from this time. Accordingly I have entered into an engagement to preach at this place and at McIndoes Falls three miles from this place till one year from this month.

I am seated in my room to-night for the first time. I have not had a place that I could call my sanctuary since I left Andover till this evening. I do not feel that this is to be exactly a sanctuary for adjoining this room is the Vermont Antiquarian Society Library and the only entrance to it is through my room . . .

My landlord is one of the queerest men living, a thorough going antiquarian, a man of much good sense and more that is odd and unseemly, but what is worse than all and more to be deplored, he makes no pretensions of piety. His wife is a member of the church in this place and a woman of whom all speak well. . .

Pray for me that the life giving energies of The Holy Spirit may be granted to me that "I may teach transgressors His way and that sinners may be converted to God." . . .

There is here a small church I do not yet know how large. There are some things about it that look favorable but as a general thing they look dead, I was about to say twice dead and plucked up by the roots. I must defer giving a full account of things here till another time when I will have learned more of them. . .

Believe me to be yours truly, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

4.

My Dear Charlotte:—

Barnet, Vt. June 27, 1843.

. . . I am fully aware of the truth of the expression in your last letter

that there will be many errors to be overlooked. It will not belong to me alone to overlook errors. Others too will have the same task to perform in at least an equal degree. I think I can adopt the language of another and say in the fullness of my heart "I have seen an end to all perfection." I can think of nothing that pertains to this world that I can call perfect. . .

I was a little surprised to hear that the advocates of the speedy coming of our Lord and Savior were to hold camp meeting in order to promote their views at this late hour. During the past winter there was much said on the subject in some towns in this vicinity. Recently the excitement has all died away and I hear none who are so foolish as to advocate the doctrine. The time has already passed in which they expected the appearance of Christ on earth. The effect so far as I know instead of making men infidels as some predicted it would has led them to study the Bible for themselves and listen to such preachers as have studied the Bible in the original tongues. Religious congregations so far as I have heard have increased especially such as listen to the pure Gospel. I preached last Sabbath to a congregation in St. Johnsbury by way of exchange. The congregation was said to be the largest that ever convened in that house on the Sabbath. This was not owing to the fact altogether that they had a new minister for but few could have known but that they were to have their own pastor. . .

Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

5.

My Dear Charlotte:—

McIndoes Falls, Vt. Aug. 22, 1843.

. . . This church petitioned the "Vermont Missionary Society," when I came here, for aid from that society. After a visit from the secretary, when he came here and set before them the wants of other churches and asked the society to make an effort to raise what they were expecting to pay me for the first half year without aid, the society made an effort according to his suggestions and succeeded so well as to conclude not to ask for any aid from the society while I remain. . .

I am pleased with the people of Barnet and have some melancholy feelings in view of leaving them but they have the Gospel in their own language and can read it and can in a good degree understand it. They have good faithful preaching within ten miles each way north, east, south and west, and of their own denomination. Besides this there are in town two Scotch Presbyterian Churches, one efficient Baptist church and one at least if not two Methodist churches. These (except one Presbyterian church which is destitute of preach-

ing) have preaching every Sabbath. With all this in their favor I cannot see how it is my duty to stay with them when I can go to those who have no way of knowing a way of salvation through a crucified Savior.

Even if this little church should not have a settled pastor I see nothing to prevent their being supplied with preaching for want of preachers if I go. There are others out of employ who will never go to the heathen even if they turn aside to their farm and their merchandise. Such is the reasoning I am accustomed to use with this people when they urge me to relinquish the idea of going away. . .

Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

6.

My Dear Charlotte:— McIndoes Falls, Vt. Sept. 5, 1843.

This is the day of the annual election of officers of this State and I have been out with other citizens to deposit my vote for those who shall rule over us the coming year. The vote in this town is what is called a Whig vote as they elected a Whig to represent them in legislature this year. Every thing in connection with the voting went off pleasantly so far as I know. I am not a party politician. The people here do not know on which side I am nor do I well know myself. I went and voted as I thought every honest citizen should do. The government of this country is intrusted to the hands of the people and the better part of the people should never stay away because the wicked are opposed to their voting.

I look forward to another year and trust if it please God to spare my life and to accept me as a servant of His, I shall be permitted before another autumn shall arrive to be stationed in some corner of His vineyard where I may cultivate it and prepare it for His inheritance, so that it shall bring forth fruit abundantly to His praise and glory.

When I look upon myself I seem altogether unworthy of such employment. I hope through the grace given me I may be accepted as Laborer in the vineyard of our Lord and Master Jesus Christ. No amount of toil and suffering can compensate for what He has done for us. I would think myself happy if called even to suffer in His service for after all I think I could say that "His burden is light."

I am ever yours, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

7.

My Dear Charlotte:— McIndoes Falls, Vt. Sept. 19, 1843.

You ask my opinion as to your studies this fall. You mentioned in

addition to your study of Butler's Analogue and Physiology, the study of Latin. I think you have made a good selection in regard to the first two, in regard to the third (Latin) I am not so sure. If you have studied it before it is well perhaps to pursue it, if you have not it is doubtful whether you will get a sufficient knowledge of it to derive any advantage from it. I should be exceedingly glad to have you acquainted with it so as to be able to read it with me if we should ever have any leisure hours for that purpose.

I am pleased that you have taken Butler and should be happy to hear your opinion of his logic after you have perused it a while. The study of Physiology also I esteem altogether worthy of your notice. If you obtain some knowledge of it and of Anatomy I think it will be an invaluable acquirement. It seems to me that some knowledge of Physiology is essentially necessary to those who have the training of young children.

Subscribing myself, Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

8.

My Dear Charlotte:—

McIndoes Falls, Vt. Oct. 3, 1843.

It seems to me that my letters are very monotonous, as much so as my preaching, which I fear will accomplish nothing on that account. I often regret that I have taken no more pains with my letters to have them more acceptable to yourself and more worthy of myself. I have generally written what first occurred to mind without stopping to mature my thoughts. Whatever disadvantage there may have been in such a course to either of us, there is this advantage to you; you have been enabled to see the first promptings of my heart.

Dr. Porter made the remark that "If a minister was at a loss for a subject to present to his people he may be assured he has mistaken his calling." For a while after I came here that remark troubled me much. Now the tide has turned and I seem to want to preach on so many subjects I am confused and hardly know which I ought to take first.

I begin to count the number of sermons I shall be called upon to preach to this people before leaving them, which I should dread to do only that it will allow me to enter other portions of the great vineyard to labor for my Master.

Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

9.

My Dear Charlotte:—

McIndoes Falls, Vt. Oct. 17, 1843.

I have been out this evening to attend a meeting of the teachers in

our Sabbath School. I could not well help thinking that if I should get among the heathen it would be precious indeed to be able to meet that number of pious and praying Christians, It is good to meet with those who meet to worship God. I feel indeed that Christian fellowship is sweet. I wonder that any Christian should look upon it as a task to attend the religious prayer meeting. I often ask myself do such ever expect to be happy in Heaven. Men seem to have some vague notions of the employments of Heaven as if they should be happy there of course while they cannot endure the company of holy men here on earth. They seem to forget that they must be more holy in Heaven where all seem to be anxious to go without knowing the 'why' or 'wherefore.'

As the time draws nigh when I shall leave this people, I look back continually to see what I have accomplished and it seems as if I had done nothing for the Master whom I serve. Perhaps I had cherished too high expectations of usefulness. It seems to me as if I had yet reaped comparatively no fruits of my labors with this people. I yet hope that I have not sown the seed in vain but that it will some time spring up and bear fruit to eternal life. Whatever the result though Paul should plant and Apollos water, unless God give the increase, there will be no hope but that the seed will fall by the wayside or in some equally barren earth of the desert. Notwithstanding that I can see no great effect of my labors here I have become greatly attached to this people and shall cherish grateful remembrance of them.

Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

10.

My Dear Charlotte:—

McIndoes Falls, Vt. Oct. 31, 1843.

Since I wrote last I have received two letters from the Rev. D. Green in behalf of the prudential committee of the American Board of Commissioners of Foreign Missions informing me that they have designated my place of labor to be at the Sandwich Islands. These letters also inform me that the committee were about to send out four other missionaries with their wives who are to sail from Boston on the first Monday (the fourth) of December next and that the committee would like to have me accompany them. On the receipt of the first letter I immediately wrote to Mr. Green informing him of my circumstances and I named you as the one who was to accompany me whenever I should go. Mr. Green in his last letter says, "There may quite possibly be other opportunities for making the

voyage in the course of the winter or spring." If there should be I should wish to improve it.

Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.

11.

My Dear Charlotte:—

McIndoes Falls, Vt. Nov. 14, 1843.

There is to be a meeting of the church next Thursday to which I am looking forward with much interest and anxiety. Oh that the Lord will condescend to meet with us then! I fear that my prayers are all selfish that it will be to my advantage to have a revival occur under my preaching. Such a thought I know is a sinful one. May the Lord take from me every feeling which would dishonor Him or desire my own honor in preference!

Yours as ever, Timothy Emerson Ranney.





A VERMONT SKETCHBOOK

I. IRON IN VERMONT—A GLANCE AT ITS STORY *by* ELBRIDGE C. JACOBS

We have asked Professor Jacobs to prepare for us brief papers which would review for our readers the history of iron, copper, granite, gold, semi-precious stones, other minerals in the state. The first in this series is this sketch on the subject of iron. We hope these papers will open phases of our history that will interest our members and others—even to the extent that data will be sent us that will be useful in a later complete study of our mineral resources, not in historical but also in practical terms. The vocabulary of the scientist and technician is usually forbidding to the casual reader, but the writer cannot escape the obligation of using accurate phrasing; so we must go along with him even at the cost of seeing darkly at times.
Editor.

Of all the metals iron is the most fundamental, the most widely useful, and the most indispensable to our civilization. Iron has been used by man since early in his career; an iron tool was found in the pyramid in Gizeh which dates from about 3,000 B.C.; iron was used by the semi-civilized tribes of Africa; and its development is traced through Asia and Africa.

The chief economic ores of iron are hematite (Fe_2O_3 , ferric oxide), magnetite (Fe_3O_4 , a compound of FeO and Fe_2O_3), limonite, spathic ore, brown ore (hydrated ferric oxide: $2 \text{Fe}_2\text{O}_3 \cdot 3 \text{H}_2\text{O}$), and siderite (ferrous carbonate: FeCO_3).

The aim of the iron metallurgist is to remove the oxygen and other harmful ingredients from the ore and thus to produce wrought iron, at a low temperature, without its going through the molten state; or to produce molten pig iron, in the blast furnace. The pig iron is very impure and has to be refined in order to obtain cast iron.

The semi-civilized tribes of Africa obtained their iron from bog iron ore by digging shallow pits (hearthths), mixing the ore with charcoal, and applying a blast of air by means of crude bellows. The resulting mixture of iron and slag was beaten out and gave solid wrought iron, very strong and malleable. Modern hearthths are something like large blacksmith's forges. The Catalan forge, puddling furnaces, and American bloomeries are refinements of the ancient furnaces.

Hematite and magnetite were not reduced to metal till much higher temperatures were attained in the blast furnace. Today the blast is heated, and such a temperature is attained that molten pig iron and slag are obtained and are drawn off from the bottom of the furnace and separated from each other by their difference in specific gravity. Of course bog iron ore can also be reduced in the blast furnace and a great deal of Vermont "bog" was so reduced.

Today, the production of pig iron is the first step in the making of steel, which process did not begin, in a large way, till about the middle of the nineteenth century when the English Bessemer process and the French open hearth method were introduced.

Wrought iron and cast iron were the products used in colonial times. The early cannon and cannon balls were made of cast iron—and they often burst!

Vermont Iron Ore Deposits

The writer is much indebted to the late Charles Rufus Harte, a Connecticut engineer, for his manuscript, drawn from many sources, on this subject. Mr. Harte lists more than twenty townships in which iron ore occurs, or did occur before being exhausted.

With the exception of Troy, Orleans County, Ludlow, and Dover, the deposits occur in the western valleys of the Green Mountains, in the Taconics, and in the Vermont lowland. Rutland, Brandon, Chittenden, Pittsford, West Haven, Castleton, Clarendon, Middletown, Tinmouth, Wallingford, Dorset, Shaftsbury, Bennington, Woodford, and Pownal townships were the more important locations for magnetite, hematite, and limonite deposits. Bog iron deposits are found, or were found, in Highgate, Swanton, Sheldon, Fairfield, Colchester, Monkton, Vergennes, Bristol, Shoreham, Orwell, and other places.

Bog Iron

Bog ores, as the name implies, are laid down in swampy and marshy places and are due to the action of iron-bacteria (not literally). These bacteria digest iron from solutions (instead of carbon) and their excrement is ferric oxide and ferrous carbonate. This material sinks to the bottom and forms beds of ore. These are relatively small deposits but were very important sources of iron in the early days. The Champlain lake districts were old lake bottoms during the time of the Champlain Sea and, as the sea dried up, the swampy places were ideal for the formation of bog deposits. Kenneth Roberts, in his

Northwest Passage, tells us vividly of the struggles of Rogers and his Rangers, in 1759, through swamps and marshes on their expedition against the old Indian stronghold at St. Francis, Quebec. It is extremely probable that the ores of this region were bog iron—indeed, the remains of old forges in Sheldon, and the twenty bloomeries (furnace and forge) in Vergennes lead to this conclusion.

Furnaces

According to Harte's manuscript the oldest furnace in the state was at Tinmouth (1783), followed by those at Bennington (1786), Pittsford (1791), Fairhaven and Chittenden (1797), Sheldon (1798), Vergennes and Swanton (1799), Forestdale (1820), Manchester (1821), Dorset and Fairfield (1831), Tyson (at Cavendish, 1837), Bennington (1853), and Pittsford (1859). Blast furnaces were built at many of these localities; forges were in use in others; both types were found at some of the works.

The best-preserved blast furnace in the state is the Conant furnace, built by John Conant at Forestdale in 1820. The picture shows the blowing machine by which air is supplied to aid combustion. (See frontispiece.) It is made of stone, 39 feet high, with a maximum diameter of 8.5 feet. In 21 weeks, in 1855, it produced 1,144 tons of pig iron. This is a fine old relic of the past.

Mr. Ward L. Lyons, of Bennington, kindly sent the writer "snap shots" of two old furnaces which are found "just off the Molly Stark Trail, route 9, on the Shields property." The ore was mined nearby and at several places around Bennington and Shaftsbury. The Bennington Iron Works operated the furnaces, which produced seven tons of pig iron a day. A refining forge "made" wrought-iron from the "pig."

The remains of other furnaces are recorded in Lyons' manuscript. They were not visited by the writer.

In his *History of Vermont*, Crockett states that, in 1810, there were eight blast furnaces and 26 forges and bloomeries in operation.

Early in the nineteenth century Vergennes became the center of the iron industry in Vermont. In her *Days of the Monkton Iron Company*, a book by Adelia Ingham which Mrs. F. D. Chatterton, librarian of the Bixby Public Library in Vergennes, loaned the writer, a most interesting account of the iron industry at Vergennes is given. The enterprise was financed by Boston capital, some \$250,000 being invested. The company's works were located just below the falls of the Otter Creek, several miles from the lake, and at the head of navigation for light-draught vessels (300 tons burthen).

A blast furnace, forges and bloomerics for converting the pig iron into wrought iron, and other apparatus were assembled on the old river bottom, which is wide at this point; red and yellow ocher were obtained from the Monkton Ore Bed (shown on the Middlebury topographical map), while bog ore was hauled from the deposits in Swanton and other places. The forests furnished masts for the ships and charcoal for the blast furnace—coke for fuel was a later development. The Monkton company became the leading iron producer of the state. Wrought iron, tough, malleable, ductile, for ship building; sheet iron, "hollow ware" for kettles, nail rods, and many other articles were made and shipped as far as Boston and Troy, N. Y.

In the War of 1812, the British strategy was to cut off New England from the rest of the Union by sending naval and land forces up the lake and down the Hudson. To counteract this menace Vergennes became a place of feverish activity, and began the building of a fleet. Fourteen small warships, including the *Saratoga* which was completed in forty days, were built. These had an aggregate tonnage of 2404 tons, were armed with 86 guns, and manned by 820 men—and a rooster which played a gallant part in the battle of Plattsburg. The British fleet comprised 17 ships, 93 guns, and 1,050 men.

Action took place off Plattsburg, September 11, 1814, and the British fleet was destroyed in a sanguinary battle. The British land forces were also decisively defeated; Vermont troops took part in this engagement.

Credit for the naval battle was due to Thomas McDonough. Theodore Roosevelt, in his *History of the Naval War of 1812*, says of him: "He was the greatest figure in United States naval history down to the Civil War." McDonough's monument stands in the Vergennes public square.

Miss Ingham states that \$1007 worth of (wrought) iron was used in building our fleet, and 300 tons of shot were used in the battle. She says nothing about the cannon; they were made of cast iron, of course. The largest iron balls in the Bixby Museum are about four inches in diameter; this measures about the bore of the guns.

With the financial depression which followed the war, and with the discovery of iron ore in Pennsylvania and other places, the fortunes of Vermont iron smelters waned. The Monkton company, after a precarious post-war existence, was finally sold in 1830.

And so, today, iron smelting in Vermont is hardly a memory.

2. THE MCCOSCO FARM *by* TENNIE GASKILL TOUSSAINT

Under the auspices of our Society, the State Farm Bureau and the State

Grange, we have been conducting a search for all Vermont families' farms, each one of which has been in the possession of one family for a century. Each farm is called a Century Farm on our Century Farm project. Thus far, we have found three hundred such farms; and we hope to compile a brief sketch of each for a final volume. In the meantime, Mrs. Toussaint is aiding us generously by sending us sketches of the century farms in her Danville area. Editor.

Traveling east, about a mile and one-half from West Danville on U.S. Highway, route 2, one can see the McCosco farm, situated just off a side road that leads from the left of route 2.

This small farm now consists of about thirty-five acres, and has been in the McCosco family since 1828.

Danville Green, a mile farther east, was then the active business center of all the surrounding towns, with its County Court House, churches, inns, and the new Caledonia State Bank, which was organized in 1826.

Dynamic leader Andrew Jackson of Tennessee was elected President of the United States in 1828, the first President to be elected from across the Mississippi River.

Charles G. McCosco, the present owner, and great-great-grandson of the original owner, says, "The McCoscos seem to have settled on a large tract of land where different parts of the family lived from time to time. They've all been good Democrats and Methodists, and proud of it. We've always been to the Methodist Church at West Danville."

It was out across the fields, between this McCosco farm and Danville Green, that the very first permanent settlement was made in the town of Danville by Charles Sias sometime between 1783 and 1785. The cellar hole of the early cabin can still be seen in Mr. Carl Lang's pasture, off the Walden road.

The early 1828 deed is recorded as John "McKoshey," and the name is thought to have been "Kenkusko" at home in Poland.

Great-great-grandfather John McKoskey is said to have deserted from the German Army because he was forced to serve in it. Somehow, he went into the English Navy and came to Canada, where he lived for a while in Kingston, Ontario; but sovereign rule there was not to his liking, either. So that's how he happened to come to Danville, Vermont. Old John was a Roman Catholic when he came here to live.

"I've heard my folks tell about how they'd been told that all the

first winter after old John came onto the farm, he had his horse stabled up in the thick woods on the side hill under a big tree until he could get a stable built in the spring," Charles G. said.

"Part of this house is made of planks," he continued. "And the present barn is constructed of some of the old hand-hewed timbers that were used in the old barn that was built in 1869, the year old John died.

"My father, Fred McCosco, rebuilt the barn in 1905, and now I have fixed it over, a couple of years ago.

"You know people used to raise quite a lot of flax around this part of the country in the olden days. Old John had about ten acres of flax during the Civil War, up in what is now the pasture. I could show you about where it was, according to what my folks told me.

"Did you ever hear about the golden calf, an idol, worshipped by the Indians? The story was told to one of my ancestors by an Indian, the last one of his tribe. He said it was buried somewhere on the shores of Joe's Pond, up here to West Danville, so no white man would ever get it. So far, I've never heard as they have.

"There must have been some good Indians, even in my grandfather's time. There is a story told about when grandfather, Charles P., was a small boy. He was very sick, and his face was swelled 'way up big.' An old Indian stayed here over night. He said, 'Him got bad tooth. Me pull 'em,' so he pulled it out, and the folks always thought he saved the boy's life.

"Charles P. McCosco, my grandfather, used to run a horse-training and selling stable. Guess he and my father, Fred, made quite a business of it in their day.

"All the old McCoscos were good musicians, played around at kitchen junkets. My father didn't play much, only to amuse himself.

"This house was right on an old stage-coach route at one time. Once Grandmother McCosco, Charles P.'s wife, had taken a few eggs to the store at Danville, and was walking home along this road. She had traded her eggs for some salt and some salt salmon. First thing she knew there was a big black bear right in the road. She was pretty scared, but I guess the bear was scared, too, as he turned and walked off into the woods. Grandmother thought afterwards that she could have thrown the salmon at him and run for home if he had come after her.

"Grandfather was also an 'Herb Man.' He made a practice of gathering herbs all during the summer season, which he dried and

used in various ways for the ills of his family and livestock, as well as those of his neighbors."

Both Mr. and Mrs. McCosco have employment away from home a greater part of the year. They were both schoolteachers for many years. They have one son, Charles F., eight years old.

They raise a large flock of poultry and keep a few cows, and sell home-made butter, eggs and poultry to several customers.

Mrs. Harold Kittredge, who lives along the road a piece farther, on an early Century Farm, was Edna McCosco, and a sister of the present Charles G. McCosco. She was born and raised on this farm.

3. FROM READING AND DANVILLE, VERMONT, TO CANADA

One by one, no matter how long it takes, we hope to follow the dim trails of Vermonters who journeyed to Canada just as we are patiently beginning to trace the story of Vermonters who went to New York and points farther west. Here is a sketch of the type we welcome which will serve the research student even as it entertains us with its accurate picture of pioneer hospitality and home ways. Editor.

Many of the picturesque incidents of pioneer life in the Eastern Townships centre about one of the earliest settlers, Joseph Fish. Like most of the pioneers of the Townships, he was of New England stock. He was born in Pepperell, Massachusetts, and married Sarah Spear in Walpole, New Hampshire. In the early 1790's he journeyed north through the difficult, wild country, and cut out his farm at Hatley. [*In Canada. Ed.*]

There Joseph Fish and his wife lived in great loneliness. But one by one other settlers began to arrive. In 1796 Ephraim Hitchcock and his wife and children came up from Reading, Vermont, and settled about four miles away.

Mrs. Fish felt that she should call upon Mrs. Hitchcock and bid her welcome. She went through the woods and knocked on the door of the Hitchcock cabin.

Mrs. Hitchcock was delighted to have a visitor. But she felt how poor was the hospitality she could offer in her primitive house. Necessity, however, was the mother of invention. *She went out and gathered a few cowslips, which she boiled and salted. She also had with her a small package of tea. And so the only two women in all South Hatley sat down to their tea party in the wilderness.*

In the spring of the following year another family moved nearby. It was the family of Jeremiah Lovejoy, from Danville, Vermont. The

Lovejoys had made their way in the spring snows through the unbroken forest from Stanstead Plain, and suddenly found themselves in Joseph Fish's clearing at Hatley.

For about a week they stayed with Joseph and Mrs. Fish, who showed them every kindness. They then crossed the river on the ice and ultimately built a log cabin of their own. One of the daughters of the family, Mrs. N. Taylor, later wrote a remarkable description of the hardships and satisfactions of their first days in their own new cabin.

Here are Mrs. Taylor's own words: "We moved in as soon as the roof was covered and a sufficient part of the floor of hewn split logs was laid for one bed—no windows or chimney. It was about the middle of October. The day was stormy, with a heavy fall of snow.

"Mother made a fire against a temporary stone back in one corner of the cabin and cooked our supper, while father went back for the cow and the remainder of our furniture (at a neighbor's house). By this time the children 'were as hungry as bears.' The kettle of hasty pudding was made, and rather than wait for the return of father with the cow, we chose to eat at once. We had each selected a clean spruce chip, on which mother gave us our supper of pudding and maple molasses. This was our first meal in our new home.

"Our beds were made of hemlock boughs spread over that part of our dwelling where the floor had been laid. In this cabin, rude and homely as were its conveniences and surroundings, was enjoyed a happiness equal if not superior, to that of the owners of any modern residences with the most costly furnishings.

"After laying the remainder of the floor and building a stone and stick chimney, father fitted up windows. This was done by cutting holes through the walls, in which he put square frames, covered at first with raw sheepskins strained on like a drumhead.

"Mother's outfit had been rather above those of her neighbors. After fitting up shelves on one side of the dwelling, she was able to display a set of 12 pewter plates, two large platters, and three basins of the same material. These were kept burnished after the old Puritan style; next followed a number of wooden plates and bowls, which were for common use. For special occasions she could furnish a table with six teacups and saucers, and as many white earthen plates, two pitchers, and a sufficient number of pewter teaspoons.

"Happy days of primeval simplicity! Well do I remember that old log house."

[THIS SKETCH APPEARED IN THE *Montreal Gazette*, AUGUST 30, 1953,

AND COMES TO US THROUGH THE KINDNESS OF P. E. POPE (VHS) OF MONTREAL. EDITOR.]

4. ANECDOTES OF COL. ETHAN ALLEN

These "anecdotes" are taken from a newspaper article in an old scrapbook whose date we have not been able to establish although the book seems to have been compiled, on the basis of the paper and printing of the newspaper, in or about 1850. The time seems to have arrived when we must collect these "anecdotes" and legends that have slowly evolved around Allen—not that they have any historical value as history but because they make interesting material for the reader and student interested in the psychological processes by which legends and anecdotes with little historical basis come into being. One of our members, Albert B. Congdon of Danby, Vt., sends us the faded page on which the stories appear. Editor.

Col. Ethan Allen was a man distinguished to the world as something uncommon and in a high degree interesting. He was but partially educated and obscurely brought up; yet no man was more at ease in the polished ranks than he. Not that he at all conformed to their artificial rules of etiquette; but he had observed the dictates of natural good sense and good humor. His bearing was in total defiance to fashion, and he looked and acted as if he thought it would be a condescension thus to trammel himself. It is well known that in early life, in his own country, he acquired an influence over his fellow men, and led them on to the most daring achievements.—He seemed to have possessed all the elements of a hero, a devoted patriotism, a resolute and daring mind, and an excellent judgment.

His conduct as a partisan officer is well known in this country, and he was of great service to the cause of liberty during our revolutionary struggle. He was taken prisoner and carried to England, where his excellent sense, his shrewdness and wit, introduced him to the court region. A friend of our earlier life, who was well acquainted with this part of the history of this singular man, used to take great delight in telling us some anecdotes of Col. Allen while a prisoner in London. We have before mentioned the firmness with which he resisted the attempts to bribe him, and the caustic satire with which he replied to a nobleman who was commissioned by the ministry to make him formal offers to join the British cause in America. The incident was a stirring one, and will bear a repetition.

The commissioner, amongst the tempting largesses, proposed that if he would espouse the cause of the King, he might have a fee simple

in half the State of Vermont. "I am a plain man," said Col. Allen, in reply, "and I have read but few books, but I have seen in print somewhere, a circumstance that forcibly reminds me of the proposal of your lordship; it is of a certain character who took a certain other character into an exceeding high mountain, and showed him all the kingdoms of the earth, and the glory thereof, and told him that if he would fall down and worship him, this should be all his; and the rascal," added he, "didn't own a foot of them!"

His interview with the king at Windsor is mentioned as highly interesting. His Majesty asked the stout-hearted mountaineer if they had any newspapers in America. "But very few, and those are but little read," was the answer.

"How then," asked the King, "do the common people know of these grievances of which they complain?" "As to that," said he, "I can tell your Majesty, that amongst a people who have felt the spirit of liberty, the news of oppression is carried by the birds of the air and the breeze of heaven."

"That is too figurative an answer from a matter-of-fact man, to a plain question," rejoined the King.

"Well, to be plain," answered the rebellious subject, "among our people the tale of wrong is carried from man to man, from neighborhood to neighborhood, with the speed of electricity; my countrymen feel nothing else; 'out of the abundance of the heart the mouth speaketh.' I will add, with great respect to your Majesty, that such a people cannot be put down with the sword."

The King made a long pause, as if strongly impressed with the truth of his remarks. At length, changing the subject, he asked Colonel Allen if he knew Dr. Franklin; and being answered in the affirmative, inquired concerning his experiments in electricity, and expressed a curiosity to experience an electric shock. The British sovereign seemed to take great pleasure in the conversation, which he kept up for more than an hour, and at length made Col. Allen promise to visit him with his countryman, Dr. Franklin, at his palace in London. Some weeks after he was reminded of his promise by the nobleman above mentioned, and an hour fixed for the home-bred philosopher of America to explain the mysteries of a new discovery in science, to the royal family. They attended accordingly, and with an apparatus chiefly of his own invention, Dr. Franklin exhibited many of those simple and amusing experiments for which he was so noted, and at which the royal children, even those of a larger growth, were very much delighted.

In his playful way, Dr. Franklin took occasion to convey instructions as to the properties of this astonishing fluid. While the royal habitation was thus in a most unkingly uproar, the Premier was announced as in waiting. The King seemed for a moment disturbed. "I forgot my appointment with the minister," said he, "but no matter, I will eschew business for once, and let North see how we are employed." Accordingly the minister was ushered in with little ceremony, and it was soon concluded that he should have a shock. Allen whispered to the Doctor to remember how he had *shocked* us across the waters, and to give him a double charge. Whether it was designed on the hint of his friend or not, was not ascertained; but the charge was so powerful on the nerves of his lordship, as to make him give way in his knees, at which all, especially the princess, were almost convulsed with mirth.

Some of Col. Allen's happy retorts at the clubs and fashionable parties are still remembered and often repeated. On one occasion he was challenged to a glass of wine by the beautiful Duchess of Rutland, who seems to have been particularly pleased with his independent manner. "You must qualify your glass with a toast." The "Var-mounter," very unaffectedly observed that he was not used to that sort of ceremony, and was afraid he might give offence.—If, however, the lady would be so good as to suggest a subject, he would endeavor to give a sentiment.

"Oh," said she, "never mind the subject—anything will do, so that it has no treason in it."

"Well," says he, "this may do for a truth—not for a toast;" and, fixing his eyes adoringly on the far-famed court beauty, he proceeded—"If anything could make a double traitor of a patriot, it would be the witchcraft of such eyes as your ladyship's."

The blunt sincerity with which this was spoken, together with its exact fitness to the occasion and person, caused it to be long hailed in the "*beau monde*" as an excellent good thing; and, although it had the effect of heightening for a moment that beauty to which it was offered as a tribute, it is said the fair Duchess often afterwards boasted of the compliment as far above all the empty homage she had received from the glittering coxcombry of the city.

A lady once sneeringly asked Colonel Allen, in a large assembly, at which time the fashionable ladies preferred taking air. He perceived her drift, and bluntly answered.

"Whenever it becomes necessary to feed geese and turkeys."

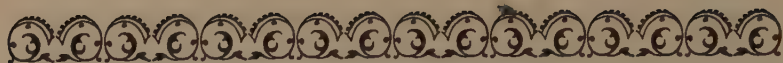
"What," inquired the lady, "do the fine women in your country descend to so menial employments?"

Allen was always roused at any attempt to depreciate the fair ones of his own country, and with a great deal of warmth he replied;

"American women, ladies, have the art of turning even amusements to account. Many of these could take up the subject of your Grace's family history, and tell you of the feats of valor and bursts of eloquence to which your ladyship is probably indebted for your distinguished name, most of which, it is likely, would be as new to you as the art of raising poultry."

The sarcasm produced a deep blush on the face of the fair scoffer; but it procured for the captive and his countrymen an indemnity against court ridicule for the future.





FOOTNOTES TO VERMONT HISTORY: A DEPARTMENT

As already announced, we will welcome for this new department brief contributions in any form that have some basis in fact or even in legend and tradition. Often, a short note fits nicely into a blank spot in the intricate mosaic that is Vermont history. Editor.

I. TURKEY DRIVES *From* C. S. STREETER, WEST WARDSBORO, VT.

Even turkeys in Wardsboro's early days were driven all the way to Boston in the fall. Most farmers in the early days raised a few turkeys. A buyer would visit the farms in advance of the drive and bargain for the number for sale.

The price usually agreed upon was \$1.00 each, and a time was set at which, during the drive, they would be collected. When the drove came marching by, the farmer, having previously shut his flock in the barn and separated those he wished to keep for breeders, let his birds out one by one so they could be counted, and away they went to join the rest and march happily on to Boston.

A turkey drover's troubles were many. One of the peculiarities of turkeys was, when late afternoon came and it became dusk, no matter where they were, whether on a lonely mountain road or in a village, when the first turkey flew into a tree to roost for the night, the rest followed, and nothing could change their minds. Villagers might become indignant at a flock of several hundred turkeys roosting in their shade trees and on the roofs of their house and barns, and protest vigorously, but there was little the drover or they could do about the situation.

Kern Adams, a native of Dover, Vt., was a veteran turkey buyer of the early days and often related his experiences on the road. One time a farmer refused to sell him his turkeys unless he bought his five geese too, which he finally did with some misgivings. He related that all went well until the turkeys flew into some trees at nightfall; then the geese took to the air and the last he saw of them, they looked the size of bumblebees and were soon lost to sight in the distance. Kern remarked sadly, "And there went my geese and my five dollars."

Later on, when trains ran from Brattleboro to Boston, turkeys were driven to Brattleboro from the farms in the towns of the county,

dressed there, and shipped to the Boston market. A newspaper item of around 1872 states that 20 tons of turkeys were shipped from Brattleboro during the two or three days preceding Thanksgiving. This would mean about 3,000 dressed birds, more than is raised and shipped yearly in Windham county now under the new improved methods.

In the 1800's nearly every hill farm had its flock of turkeys, and they, while requiring considerable time and attention for the first six weeks, were not too difficult to raise. Foxes and hawks took their toll of the young birds, but disease was not a problem until around 1890, when blackhead appeared, and in the next thirty years it caused such losses that turkey production on most farms was given up and turkeys became scarce on Vermont farms until about thirty years ago, when methods were worked out to combat but not cure this dread disease. Now flocks of hundreds and even thousands of turkeys are raised in Vermont. Turkey raising, however, has become a specialized business, and the farm flock of the old days is no more. Only one farm in Wardsboro is engaged in raising turkeys at present, where years ago practically every farm had its little flock of from 12 to 50 growing birds.

2. JACK YORK, VERMONT *From* MURIEL HYZER, PITTSFIELD, VT.

In the Pittsfield village cemetery a modest little tombstone reads:

Jack York, died 1874, age about 85 years.

He came to Pittsfield in 1820. He was born a slave in Salem, N. Y.

He was always ready to put his hand out in friendship to all.

Behind this epitaph there is an interesting story, a story that could only happen in this great free country of ours.

When his parents were seized and returned to their owners, Jack York escaped through the underground railway to Vermont and freedom. He traveled many weary miles footsore and hungry before he found his way to Pittsfield. Finding it a very friendly and kind town, he decided to stay here. He was well liked by everyone, and everyone was willing to help him. He in turn was always ready to lend a helping hand wherever needed. When he decided to build a cabin, his friends and neighbors pitched in and helped him.

Many an evening if one chanced to pass the little cabin on the lower Michigan road, Jack York's rich baritone could be heard raised in the spirituals so loved by his race, accompanied by the beating of wooden spoons on an old dishpan for rhythm.

The little cabin and Jack York are long since gone, but the mound in the cemetery still remains, covered with wild flowers in the summer

and drifted snow in the winter—and bearing witness to the onetime existence of Jack York, friend to all and enemy of none, a true Vermonter, though by adoption, and a fine person.

3. EXCERPTS FROM EARLY SCHOOL DISTRICT RECORDS

From J. HAWLEY AIKEN, HARTFORD, CONN.

The first families settled in Benson, Vt., in 1783. The first town meeting was held in 1786. In 1788, money was raised to build a meetinghouse. There is no record at hand of when or where the first schoolhouse was built in the town, but there is a record of the replacement of such a building in District Number One in 1802 as shown by the following minutes.

"At a District meeting held at the house of James Parkhill in the First School District in Benson on the first day of April 1802, 1st Voted James Parkhill Moderator. 2nd Voted to set the new schoolhouse on the rise of ground where the old one now stands. 3rd Voted that the schoolhouse be set up at vendue to be built by them or him that will build it the cheapest. 4th Voted James Parkhill vendue master. 5th Voted to adjourn the vendue. 6th Voted to sell the old schoolhouse at vendue and the money so raised to be appropriated for the benefit of the next winter school and to be paid by the first day of Feb. next. The old schoolhouse then set up and bid to 9 dollars by Uri Curtis. 7th Voted to adjourn the vendue.

"At a meeting on the 29th of Nov. 1802, 2nd Voted to reconsider the vote to sell the old schoolhouse at vendue that was passed April first 1802. 3rd Voted that the District will give the old schoolhouse to Apollas Gordham." So we see evidence of interest in their neighbors. On Dec. 5th it was "Voted to accept the new schoolhouse." It was also "Voted not to make any allowance for extra expense in building the house." At the same meeting two men were excused from paying the last school tax. This group of farmers could be hard and generous at the same time.

Votes taken at various times will let us guess at living conditions of the early 1800's.

"Jan. 30, 1803 Voted to furnish half a cord of 3 ft wood for each scholar and those who do not furnish their share shall be liable to pay one dollar and twenty five cents per cord and have it added to their tax list." The use of three-foot wood indicates that the building was warmed by a fireplace. This implication is made definite by a vote on Nov. 9, 1909. "Voted to raise a tax of six dollars on the grand

list of the inhabitants of the District for the purpose of repairing the schoolhouse, to repair the andirons and purchase a pair of tongs."

"March 15, 1805 Voted to have a summer school by a woman." Her salary was perhaps one dollar per week. A man for the winter term with older boys would receive from eleven to thirteen dollars per month.

"Dec. 8, 1805 Voted that the committee be directed to furnish a pail and a small tin cup for the school." Can you hear the big boy or a pair of them say: "Teacher may we go over to Parkhill's for a pail of water?" And then the line-up for a drink.

"March 20, 1812 Voted to raise two dollars on the list of polls and eatable estates of the inhabitants of the District for the purpose of paying David Meacham for the use of the land on which the schoolhouse stood." We do not know how the eatables were converted into money. Perhaps the cup of wheat or ears of corn went directly to Mr. Meacham.

Another schoolhouse was built in 1814. It seems probable that the building built in 1802 was destroyed, for the winter school of 1813-1814 was held in the log-house of a neighbor.

"May 3rd 1815 Voted that the teacher be directed to render an account of glass broken in the schoolhouse and by whom it was broken and that the parents or guardians shall replace it or have it added to their school tax." Such a regulation might have some effect on vandalism today.

"Nov. 23, 1821 Voted Jesse Parkhill, John Aiken, and Joseph Clark a committee to purchase and set up a stove. 3rd Voted that the wood for the stove for 4 months be furnished by the lowest bidder. Jesse Parkhill bid it down to 5 dollars including the wood on the ground."

In those days the teacher was "boarded round" in the homes of pupils, in proportion to the number of pupils attending school. Sometimes a family could not meet this requirement.

"Nov. 5, 1822 Voted that any deficiencies in amount of board of teacher be furnished by the lowest bidder. Jesse Parkhill bid it down to 35 cents per week."

"Nov. 27, 1827 Voted 24 dollars on the grand list of 1827 to build a woodhouse and backhouse and repair the schoolhouse. 6th Voted to set up the above mentioned buildings to the lowest bidder when

John Aiken bid them off at \$23. The schoolhouse to be 8 ft by 12 ft with 7 ft posts & to be covered clapboard fashion, the backhouse to be 4½ ft by 6 ft. Clapboards to be plained and both roofs shingled. 7th Voted to appoint a committee to superintend the buildings and make the tax."

Those at the District meetings also served as Board of Health. "March 28, 1829 Voted that it is the duty of the school committee, not only their duty but they shall turn out from school every scholar that has the itch."

It is of interest to note that bids for wood or board were sometimes made in cents, at other times in shillings, and once board was bid at "3/10 York money per week."

This record of School District meetings extends from 1802 till 1847 and contains many items of interest.

4. A LETTER OF RECOMMENDATION

From MRS. C. P. KENT, DORSET, VT.

To say that the Vermont pioneer "took his religion seriously" is to state a commonplace; the direct application of that attitude in his life and permanently in our state laws and institutions is very much another matter that has never been carefully studied. This letter is a very small link in the hidden chain. Editor.

Clarkston, June 6th, 1812

To the Congregational Church at Dorset,

Dear Brother,

I am anxious to get a letter of recommendation from the Con. Church in Dorset so that I may transfer my connexion from that Church to some Church in this vicinity.

I have already signed my acknowledgement prepared by Rev. Dr. Jackson, which I suppose has been read before you, and is sufficient to place me in good standing; but as I may be mistaken in this matter, I have thought it best to renew my acknowledgement & confession to your Church.

About ten years ago, in an unguarded moment, I was led astray and became intoxicated, for which I feel deep regret & for all actions consequent upon my yielding to the temptation to drink, I sincerely ask the forgiveness of the Church, as I hope I have already received pardon from God. For several years I have not drunk anything which could intoxicate, not even cider, & I am firmly persuaded that I shall, by the assistance of a merciful God, be kept from going astray in the future. I have enjoyed religion for some years past, and maintained worship in my family, & endeavored to lead a good life. In the bond of Christian Love

(signed)

Enos Harmon.

5. PLACE NAMES IN NORTHEASTERN VERMONT

From GEORGE N. DALE, CHICAGO, ILL.

Our lake is Island Pond with its beautiful island of somewhere. But Island Pond was Knowlton Lake. Likewise Bluff Mountain was Bonneybeag. Those earlier names were on the map when the pioneers arrived. They made the changes.

First settlers like Enos Bishop and Vitica Blake lived beside the water. It was their pond. John Cargill and Timothy Corey lived near the mountain. It was their bluff. Ponds and bluffs are close friends. Lakes and mountains are not so close. Bigness is not friendship. Oceans belong to everybody.

Those pioneers had no time for Knowlton, Bonneybeag, maps and history. They were too busy cutting trees to build homes. Their daily horizon was their pond and their bluff. Hence Knowlton Lake became Island Pond and Bonneybeag became Bluff Mountain.

Of course, the Indians also had their names. This was the top of their long trail from the St. Lawrence to Casco Bay. They had their Nulhegan and Oswegotchie. We know their Nulhegan meant their place to fish, and their Oswegotchie is literally translated as "coming round a hill." That is precisely what that water does around Sawyer Mountain to join the Clyde. Like the early pioneers, the earlier Indians named the land and water for what it meant to them, regardless of heroes and titles that meant more to the itinerant surveyors.

The Library of Congress furnishes the translation for Oswegotchie. For the Nulhegan we have no specific translation. Child's *Gazetteer* merely tells us it was the "fish river" of the Indians. But we know Skowhegan was the Indian "place to watch" for fish, and Monhegan Island was their fishing ground near Casco Bay.

Casco was their "rest-place" at the end of their long journey southward. But those first Americans must have had a similar name for their local rest-place at the very top of their trail which was Indian Point, later known as Pine Point, in Spectacle Pond. That place was the scene of their council fires. It signifies the earliest habitation here. Most appropriately it is now the home of their descendants. Thousands of wrestling fans cheer Don Eagle in our big cities without knowing his home is the top of our Indian trail. That fact revives Will Rogers' reminder that he had no Mayflower ancestors—his came down to meet the boat.

Old books tell us that James Whitelaw, who first surveyed the Clyde River Valley, named that stream for his native Clyde and like-

wise had Scotland in mind when he designated our mountain as Bonneybeag. But those old books do not tell us why his first local map came up with Seymour Lake, Knowlton Lake, and Pitkin's Pond. However, the answers are available through careful research.

When Whitelaw surveyed here, at the age of forty-two, he carried a list of the first land owners to whom he was assigning specific lots in the wilderness. They stayed at home down in Connecticut and Rhode Island. Whitelaw gave special honors to Israel Seymour, and to George and Daniel Pitkin. Those three men were grantees in the charter for Caldersburg. That town was eventually renamed Morgan. Originally it included our mountain and part of our two big lakes. It was natural for Whitelaw to select names like Seymour and Pitkin from his list of land owners that also included John Calders, whose name was bestowed upon the vast uninhabited town that once extended as far south as East Brighton.

Seymour Lake remained on the map. The first settlers to live near Seymour arrived from Connecticut soon after the survey. But the later pioneers from New Hampshire who located near Pitkin's Pond observed the two large bays like a pair of spectacles on the nose of Indian Point. Again, friendship with the horizon and disregard for the past! In a few years Knowlton Lake also gave way for Island Pond. Again, the same reasons!

We know why so many old names vanished. Too many years separated the Indians from the surveyors, and again, the surveyors from our pioneers. The Indians last lived here before the Revolution on the Charleston border where Webster's Brook joins the Clyde. They returned on many excursions, notably in 1812 on a grand expedition of five hundred red men who descended from Canada to Brunswick to camp several weeks on the bluff across the river from Stratford. But even their later visit, when early residents saw them remove bodies from their ancient cemetery, added nothing to our record of Indian names.

The pioneers arrived in 1823. Two years later De Witt Clinton, Jr., stopped here briefly to survey the route for the proposed Memphremagog-Connecticut Canal, close on the heels of his father's Erie Canal survey. Those were the days of waterways, just before railways, long before airways. Clinton must have talked with Enos Bishop beyond Blueberry Point, John Stevens above that Point, and John Cargill beyond Iron Bridge. That was before Vitica Blake had located on Sloan's Beach.

Clinton's 1825 report says: "The canal passes through Back Pond,

situated nearly parallel to Knowlton's Lake . . . and Spectacle Pond is twenty-four chains beyond the head of Knowlton's Lake."

Clinton probably carried Whitelaw's map showing Knowlton Lake, but his 1825 report is the first in history to mention Spectacle Pond and Back Pond. Those two new names were not on the original map.

In previous letters to the *Herald* I have reviewed most of the foregoing facts. But late research provides new evidence revealing the man for whom the largest of the eight lakes in Brighton was named.

Several old volumes tell us the lake was named for "Knowlton, an early surveyor." Perhaps that was a typographical error. It would be correct to say it was named for "Knowlton, *by* an early surveyor." Whitelaw was the first surveyor and he placed that name on the first map. There is no record of a Knowlton connected with Whitelaw as a surveyor, relative or friend, or as a grantee in the charters for the towns in the Clyde River Valley. The only Knowlton in Vermont who could have been involved was Luke Knowlton of distant New-fane. But he was a former Tory who had opposed the Allens and their New Hampshire Grants. Luke Knowlton was not a friend of Ethan Allen. Revolutionary heroes, not ex-Loyalists, were getting Vermont honors in 1790.

The man whose name was bestowed on our lake thirty-three years before Bishop, Cargill, and Stevens arrived here was Col. Thomas Knowlton, Bunker Hill hero, later killed in the Battle of Harlem Heights at the age of 36 years on September 16, 1776.

Colonel Knowlton was a Revolutionary patriot of great renown. His statue faces a similar monument to Nathan Hale on the Capitol grounds at Hartford, Conn. Hale and Knowlton made the supreme sacrifice only a few days apart. Indeed, it was Colonel Knowlton who asked Hale to go through the British lines as a spy. Captain Hale responded then as a valiant soldier, and finally as an immortal poet with the words: "I only regret that I have but one life to lose for my country."

Just as other gallant leaders like Joseph Warren and Seth Warner were named on the map of Essex County for their Revolutionary service, the same is true of Thomas Knowlton. By a process of eliminating other Knowltons we would know he is the man. But there is one significant fact that makes the case conclusive.

Before Thomas Knowlton became the colonel of Knowlton's Rangers, he was a captain in the Connecticut regiment commanded

by Colonel Jedediah Elderkin. The chief grantee of the town of Caldersburg was Colonel Elderkin. When Elderkin sent Whitelaw here to survey his land, old associates like Seymour, Pitkin, and Calders were honored on the map. Not one of those men was as close to Elderkin as Thomas Knowlton who had succeeded him as colonel of his regiment.

We can never forget John Trumbull's painting of the Battle of Bunker Hill. In that picture Knowlton is near Warren, just as the lake named for Knowlton is near Warren Gore and Warner's Grant. A patriot who was at Bunker Hill with Knowlton and Warren also fought at Bennington with Warner. His name is John Stark. Stark came here in 1752 as a captive of the Indians. When he saw this land nearly two hundred years ago, he could not imagine names of future compatriots like Knowlton, Warren, and Warner would adorn the best part of "Unspoiled Vermont."

When De Witt Clinton, Jr., was here on July 4, 1825, his father was the guest of honor at a canal celebration in Cleveland. Both father and son were men of heroic stature, similar to Ethan Allen. The old man had failed to defeat Madison for President in 1812, but he has beaten every President with billions of pictures. Even Washington on the dollar and Lincoln on the cent cannot conquer Clinton on the top of every package of cigarettes.

Cigarettes go up in smoke like most canals. Hence, Clinton keeps ahead with more pictures for the same old dollars and cents. Probably no mortal has appeared more often in more places than Clinton. Sir Walter Raleigh started the parade, but the Clinton stamp keeps it going.

Surveying heroes like Whitelaw and young Clinton on the local scene and Washington and old Clinton on the national scene will ever command admiration. They create maps. They name places. They beckon pioneers.

Knowlton Lake is off the modern map. It is Island Pond now. Alone, the island, matchless in romantic appeal, remains nameless. No man has ever attempted to name that Island. It could have no better tribute. [THIS ARTICLE APPEARED ORIGINALLY AS A LETTER TO THE EDITOR OF THE ESSEX COUNTY HERALD, ISLAND POND, VT. EDITOR]



Folklore Department

EDITED *by* LEON W. DEAN
President, Green Mountain Folklore Society

Man Henry

The stories about Henry Dana, generally called Hen Daney, are, I begin to think, about as numerous as the people who knew him, for it seems that each person to whom I mention his name recalls something that he did or said, usually the latter. Anything that he said was more than likely to contain at least a trace of profanity. Henry must have had not only a style all his own, but a peculiar tone as well; everyone who relates an anecdote about him assumes while telling it an exaggerated nasal twang.

Charlie Ferris was supposed to have been dying for a long time. He hadn't eaten anything but saltines and water for months, and there wasn't much left of him. One morning Henry came down and reported quite soberly that there had been a fox around the night before. "The fox," he said, "was looking for Charlie. It couldn't see him, so it took a chicken instead."

While grinding his ax in a sawmill, Henry found his clothing was caught in a setscrew. If his clothing had not given way, he would have been killed; as it was, his frock had been torn off, his shirt was in shreds, and he was lame, but he was able to get home on his own power. Someone noticed the condition of his clothing as he passed and asked Henry what had happened. Without a trace of excitement he replied, "Nuthin' much, but for a few minutes I was sure they were going to have a new boarder in hell for breakfast."

One lady recalls standing at the edge of the road with a broom to keep the cows off her lawn. The cows were being driven to pasture for the first time that spring, and Henry, no longer a young man, was doing a good deal of chasing and puffing and panting. Short of breath though he was, he paused long enough to say to the woman, "The cattle on a thousand hills are mine," saith the Lord God of Hosts, and I wish t'God He had these."

Henry had no intention of leaving this world without something of a flourish. He let it be known that when he died he wanted to be buried in a hemlock box, b'God, so that he could go through hell a-snapping!—*Elizabeth D. Joslin, Waitsfield*

Neighborliness

Putney August the 10th 1837

We the under siners think it would bee wright for the selectmen of the town of Putney to Lay arode from the foot of the hill west of Jabez P Clay house to his wood Lot south of the rode that said Clay may go and Come to his wood when he pleases without asking Leonard blanchards leave

Charles Clay

N Cobb

Thos Aplin

Alfred White

This is just one of the many items showing that, even in the olden times, neighbors were not always at peace with one another. This was copied as spelled on the original request to the selectmen of Putney.

—Mrs. George H. Gassett, Putney



Old Sayings

She put her foot in her own porridge dish.—Try to hurt another and hurt only oneself.

He owed himself a grudge and couldn't think of any other way to pay it.—Do something hard and unpleasant, and entirely unnecessary.

He came down on me like a thousand of brick.—To berate one.

You can lead a horse to water, but you can't make him drink.

On the lolling log.—Because of poor health or bad luck, doing nothing.

Gone by the board.—No help for it, hopeless.

—Florence E. Waters, Bondville



Births

The following is a news item published under Concord local items in the Lyndonville Union of June 13, 1873:

George Hudson of Lunenburg, about half-witted, recently married Jenette Williams. He had been married but two weeks when she gave birth to a child. When asked how he liked married life, he said he shouldn't like it if his wife was going to have a baby once in two weeks right along."

—Rev. Samuel N. Bean, Norwich, Conn.

Vermont's "Pekin"

A locality in Calais is said to have been named "Pekin" from the sending of some wheat by a missionary in China to a friend in Calais. The wheat was planted, a good crop harvested. The fame of the crop spread. Natives were told, "Take the road that goes by where the Pekin wheat was grown."—*Ralph W. Putnam, Waterbury*



Those Old Sheep Days

Rams are apt to be ugly, and their heads can hit mighty hard. If you keep your wits about you, you can usually jump to one side when they nearly reach you, and they will pass right by. After they make a lunge, they don't change their course. If a person does get cornered, he can lie down on his stomach, cover his face with his arms, and it is difficult for them to injure him much. I have laughed many times over a neighbor of ours who had a vicious ram hitched with a chain near a schoolhouse. The boys used to torture this poor sheep. He would make a pass at them, come to the end of the chain, and get a terrific snap. This man's young son watched the proceedings, and, unknown to his father, took a hacksaw, filed off a link in the chain, and put in a bag string instead. The next day the sheep didn't stop when he came to the end of the chain, and he managed to down several of the culprits before they got away. This ended the buck baiting.

Marauding dogs are sheep's worst enemies, even worse than bear because they are more numerous. It is a horrible sight to see a dog worry a sheep. A regular sheep-killing dog will usually cut a sheep out from the flock and run in circles around it, dashing in at it every little while. The sheep will face the dog and turn in its smaller circle. Before too long it becomes dizzy and confused. Unless help appears, it is soon seized by the throat and badly mangled. A sheep is completely helpless against a dog. Some people run a goat or two in the flock. They are fighters and offer some protection. A sheep-killing dog is bad medicine. As a rule, they don't kill for food. They seem maddened by the smell of blood and only think of killing. One night we had five sheep killed. They simply tore out the throats, hamstringed them, and left them.

Usually two dogs work together, but sometimes one works alone. They frequently go from flock to flock through the week and will travel miles. When this happens, we have a dog hunt. They are likely

to work in the early hours, possibly from three to six in the morning. The neighborhood will be alerted and will watch for a dog that is out in the night or early morning. If one is spotted, we take the car—once a horse and wagon—and follow along, giving him plenty of time to reach the pasture. Then we listen for the weird barking and the panic-stricken bleating of the sheep. If this occurs, we usually plan to be in a position to take care of the situation.

On the other hand, if several dogs are under suspicion and sheep are being killed right along, we call on dog owners and ask permission to look at the animals' mouths. One that has recently killed sheep is apt to have strands of wool in his teeth, and this is considered to be good evidence. Hardly anyone condones his dog killing sheep, and usually the owner will confine his dog or take care of him. However, feuds are occasionally started between dog and sheep owners. Lots of hot words are exchanged. One year it got so bad we had to build a shed in our pasture on Sheffield Heights two miles away, go up every night and shut the sheep up, and go in the morning and release them. Then the bears began to take them, and we gave up and went out of the sheep business after being in it for several generations.

—*Daisy S. Dopp, Glover*



Mutton Hill

Mutton Hill in West Haven was so named, according to my father's account, because of a man having stolen some sheep. When he was driving them away, he was apprehended on that hill—ever afterward to be known as Mutton Hill. It was a steep, slaty hill upon which the clouds seemed to rest as one drove up it.

—*Clare M. Gardner, Burlington*



The Horse Too

Dr. Lucius G. Dixon was a surgeon in the Civil War. At its close he settled in Milton, where he had a large practice and was greatly beloved.

One day while driving his rounds the doctor met an Irishman on a sulky who had been drinking and refused to turn out.

The road was narrow, as all roads were then. The doctor may have had a drink too. However, he was a tall, large, powerful man. He dismounted from his vehicle and promptly threw the Irishman over

the fence into the pasture, then grabbed his sulky and threw it after him. The story goes that the Irishman stuck up his head and said, "Now will ye plaze t'row me horse over?"

This story has been repeated many times in the last seventy years.

—Frances Hobart, Winooski



Earmarks

(While browsing among the old land records of Stamford, I found a small book containing earmarks of stock for the years 1788 to 1812. These special marks of identification were assigned by the town clerk. Listed among them were swallowtails, halfpennies, slits, v's etc. These records were enlightening as they gave names of stock owners in the valley during that period of time. A few typical marks follow.—Marion B. Lawrence, Stamford.)

June 6, 1788

The earmark of Stephen Bates, cattle, sheep and swine, is a hole in the right ear and a halfpenny the underside of the same and a slit in the left ear.

Jan. 17, 1789

The earmark of Josiah Raymond, cattle, sheep and swine, is a half crop the underside the near ear.

June 25, 1790

Earmark of Enos Jones, cattle, sheep and swine, square crop left ear and halfpenny underside of right ear, which was the earmark of Nathan Mead formerly.

June 6, 1795

Mark of Eleazer Harris, cattle, sheep and swine, is a swallowtail in the end of each ear.

May 18, 1801

Joshua Farnum—a square crop of the left ear and a swallowtail in the right.

Aug. 6, 1802

James Millard—a square fork in the left ear.

April 7, 1807

Elisha Hall—two holes through the right ear.

June 6, 1812

Calvin Sampson—a square fork in the right ear and a hapenny the underside and upperside of the same ear.

“Fair to Middlin’ ”

Caledonia County is noted for the high production of its dairy cows. Here is a story to prove it, as told by a milk-dealer at a local milk-meeting. Naturally, he is in a position to know what he is talking about.

A dairy farmer had a special cow in his herd, whose milk he kept for his own family's use. The milk-dealer, who knew of this practice, was curious as to why he did so. So he asked the farmer the usual question.

“Is she a good cow?”

The farmer answered, “Fair to middlin’.”

“How much milk does she give?” the milk-dealer inquired.

“Well,” the farmer replied, “she gives us milk and butter for me and my wife and our twelve kids. And we let my neighbor Adams have enough for his family. He's got ten children.”

The milk-dealer was a little astonished at such a prodigious amount of milk as the cow must give to supply two such large families with both milk and butter, but he recovered sufficiently to ask another question.

“It must take a tremendous amount of feed for this cow to produce so much milk, doesn't it?”

“O, no!” the farmer answered. “She sucks herself.”

—*Tennie Gaskill Toussaint, Danville*



The Lord Provideth

An anecdote is told of Elisha Pratt of Pawlet. In common with other settlers, he was sometimes in a state of great destitution. One Sabbath morning, while he was engaged in reading his Bible, his wife discovered a fine buck in his near-by wheat field.

“There is a big buck out there,” she said, handing him his rifle. “We are nearly starving. Had you not better shoot him?”

“No,” replied Elisha. “The Lord hath sustained us and kept us alive thus far, and if it is His will that we should have that deer to keep us from starving, He will cause it to come some other day.”

A day or two later, sure enough, the big buck showed up in the wheat field again, and Elisha brought the animal down with one well-placed shot.—*Walter C. Wood, Bennington*

“It Is So”

Ben Chellis was telling about an incident which took place on one of the farms included in what is now the State Farm.

“It was before my day,” he said, “but it is so. It is so.”

Apparently it was customary for the farmers, in those days, to treat the shearers to cider as they went about shearing the sheep in the spring. On this particular farm lived a pious man, a “church man,” who vowed that no cider would be served by him. However, the boys had previously devised a scheme whereby they were sure to get at their drinks. The old man was working at a table just inside the barn door, tying up the wool as the shearers finished with it. Suddenly, with a sheep half-shorn, one of the men keeled over, shouting, writhing and kicking in the dust. The half-naked sheep ran off, and the old man rushed out to investigate the commotion. The boys told him that the poor fellow was “in a fit” from bending over the hot, greasy sheep all day and that the only thing they knew of which would “bring him around” was some cider! With their willing assistance, the old man hurried a whole keg of it down from the house in a wheelbarrow. The shearer soon recovered from his “fit,” everyone had a few preventive swallows, the half-shorn sheep was recaptured, and the shearing continued.—*Ruth D. Byrne, Windsor*



Why? Oh Why?

A man more noted for brawn than brain was collecting the garbage the hard way. Each day that he made his rounds he would walk to the cottages at Highgate Springs, take the cans to his truck to empty them, and then return them to their places at the back doors.

One of the summer residents watched that performance with its double trips for some weeks and then decided to speak to him about it, saying, “Did you ever think that you could save yourself time and steps if you got a pail, emptied the garbage into it, and then carried it to your truck? It would save the trip back to leave the owner’s can, you could get your work done faster, and you would have more time to fish.”

“Dim-wit” thought it was a wonderful idea and almost immediately put the suggestion into practice. It proved to be so much faster and easier that he had to talk to everyone about it, adding, “Why didn’t that damn fool tell me about it earlier in the summer?”

—*Marion S. Rowley, Burlington*

No Panthers in Vermont?

(This tale, according to Mrs. Florence E. Waters of Bondville, who contributes it, comes from Orleans County. It was revived, she says, during one of the panther excitements.)

No panthers in Vermont? Well, I'll say there is! I went over to my back pasture by Burke Mountain to salt my young cattle, but I couldn't find hide nor hair of them. I was wanderin' around lookin' for them when I heard them come poundin' down the mountain. I stepped into the bushes to save bein' run over, and there I saw it was a panther chasin' them. Just as they got opposite me, the panther grabbed one of my best heifers, jumped over the fence and disappeared in a squirrel's hole in the side of a tree.



A Doctor's Grace

Dr. Ardain G. Taylor's grace, said at table, always the same: "Father of mercy and God of all grace, wilt thou behold us this time in mercy. Pardon and forgive us all our sins. Bless the portion of goodness now provided for us. May we eat and drink in thy fear and spend the strength to thy glory, which favors we ask for Christ's sake. Amen."

On Sundays he varied the first line by saying:

"Blessed and praised be Thou, Father in heaven. Wilt thou, etc."

He was an outstanding doctor of the old school, was one of the founders of Black River Academy and of the Ludlow Baptist Church. He built the lovely brick house just across the bridge on Main Street, Ludlow. He died of erysipelas about 1843, contracted in treating a patient. Was about 40 years old.—*Mary O. Pollard, Middlebury*



Putting On The Heat

Someone inadvertantly dropped a ball of snow off his boot in Aunt Sarah's kitchen. Uncle German, a little more feeble in mind than in body, picked up the offending ball of snow and tossed it into the kitchen stove.

Aunt Sarah, hearing the rattle of the stove lid, said, "German, did you put that snowball into the stove?"

"Yes. Why? That won't burn."

"Yes, it will. Anything will burn if the fire is hot enough."

—*Cora K. Ayres, Pittsford*

Vermontese

The whole pot and boiling of them.
The whole kit and caboodle.
As comfortable as an old shoe.
Like a parched pea on a hot skillet.
Tougher than shoe leather.
Sore as a powder-burned thumb.
As cold as a pump handle in January.
Tougher than tripe.
A low'ry day.
Sourer than swill.—*Maud A. Jackson, Windsor*

A dry year will scare you to death.

A wet year will starve you to death.

What the eye doesn't see, the heart doesn't grieve for.

—*Mrs. Fred C. Hill, Burlington*



To Go or Not to Go

This little story about one of the oldtimers of the town of Danville shows the resourcefulness of the young men of his generation.

One fine evening this young man went down the road a piece, probably a quarter of a mile or so, to call on a young lady.

During the evening it began to rain. It rained hard all the evening and come bed-time it was just pouring. The young lady's father and mother asked him to stay overnight, but he refused. The girl coaxed him to stay, to no avail. At last, it was raining so hard, he gave in, and said he would stay the night.

Then he disappeared out the door into the pouring rain and darkness. In a matter of minutes, it seemed, he was back again—dripping wet, and out of breath—with his nightshirt under his arm.

—*Tennie Gaskill Toussaint, Danville*



Slight Change Noted

This story, told by a woman in town, shows the change that has come about in the requirements and salaries of teachers in the last hundred years. Her grandmother applied for her first teaching job in 1852, shortly before her fifteenth birthday. She was asked just three questions: first, if she thought she would like teaching; second, whether

her father had any little pigs to sell; and last, how much he was selling them for. Then she was hired. For the twelve weeks of the term she taught for the magnificent sum of a dollar and a half a week. It was the custom for the families living in the vicinity of the schoolhouse to bid off the boarding of the school teacher for a number of weeks. The family would then be given a corresponding amount of credit toward their taxes. One woman deliberately bid her off for two weeks in the middle of the summer so that she could help with the morning milking and let the men get to their haying earlier. All that at a dollar and a half a week!—*Elizabeth D. Joslin, Waitsfield*



Vermont Weather

Evening red and morning gray
Speeds the traveler on his way.
Evening gray and morning red
Sends the traveler to his bed.



First it thew, and then it blew,
And then it snow, and then it friz.



If at sunset there are clouds south of the sun, it will rain before morning. If the clouds are north of the sun, it will not rain.



The days of the week between Christmas and New Year govern the weather for the next five months.—*Frances Hobart, Winooski*



Rochester Epitaph

Here lies old Nathan N. and his wife,
Who always lived in contention and strife,
But now they are dead no one will deny
But what they lie snug as two pigs in a sty.

Grafton Epitaph

Stranger pause as you pass by;
My thirteen children with me lie.
See their faces how they shine
Like blossoms on a fruitful vine.

—*Rev. Samuel N. Bean, Norwich, Conn.*

All Right With Him

Uncle Luke was a member of the Methodist Parish which was located in Whitingham Center. During the Civil War the minister had received a call and moved away, and the church and parish house were empty. When peace was restored, a committee was formed to secure a new pastor and make repairs to the church property. Uncle Luke, having little money to contribute, was permitted to remain in good standing if he would give his services. In due course he was set to shingling one side of the parsonage roof. By this time the new pastor and his family had arrived. As noon approached, Uncle Luke was invited to eat with the family. Once seated, he speared a boiled potato with his fork and was busily mashing it on his plate when the minister cleared his voice and spoke:

"Mr. Plumb, we usually say something here before we eat."

Uncle Luke paused, his fork poised for further assault upon the potato as he brought his attention to the minister.

"What say? Oh! Oh yes. Well, say what you please, Parson, you can't turn my stomach."—*Mary Louise Plumb, Bennington*





Postscript

"In a certain sense all men are historians."—Thomas Carlyle. *"There is history in all men's lives."*—William Shakespeare.

Many an evening ago, in the study of a scholar of the old school who had found in Greece and Rome a lifelong field of study, I took a battered brick from his desk and studied it idly. He smiled the elusive smile characteristic of him, and said: "That brick have any significance to you?"

"Looks like an ordinary brick to me," was my casual reply.

Again the smile. "Young man, learn to look at what life brings to your hand—everything in the universe is an idea and has a meaning." He pointed to the brick. "Note, ye of the blind, a sparrow track on this brick, underneath it a line scratched in Latin which reads, 'Regulus, the slave, wrote this.' Can you explain the combination?"

"A slave saw a brick with a bird track on it and wrote underneath it while the clay was soft," I answered glibly.

The white head bent above the brick. "I found this in the ruins of the Coliseum in Rome. A slave was working there, centuries ago, saw the sparrow's track, and wrote the line. The reason? The one that every man has in his heart: *a wish to be remembered.*"

The coarse brick with its track and sentence suddenly became, not a small item in a tremendous universe, but a key to a universal longing that men have, even though dimly sensed and never expressed. Here in our offices, in the library, in the museum, a long procession of vanished men and women pass before our eyes. Many of them gathered patiently for us the history of long ago—and usually as a labor of love; others did so without conscious purpose, for they were historians even if they did not know it. Patiently, too, we try to gather the stories of our Vermonters, emphasizing the humble of the century and more past, even as we scan the more accessible history of the great, for there is history in all men's lives; and most of them and most of us can leave in the end—at least a single line in one form or another—"I wrote this."

* * *

As the readers of our issues for the past three years know, we have been using a mountain theme for our covers and now and then for frontispieces. Vermont mountains clearly have been centers around

which our history has evolved, and it would be a gigantic task to try to trace their impact on the Vermont consciousness for two hundred years—without even considering the practical aspects of the mountains' relation to the life and times that like a tide came and went around and beneath them. Ascutney lies partly in the realm of history and partly in the gray shadows of tradition. There seems to be evidence that the name can be traced to an Indian word meaning "steep slopes." The top of the mountain is shared by the towns of West Windsor, Windsor, and Weathersfield. When General Lafayette was on his way for his 1825 visit to Vermont, the citizens of the region decided to build a carriage road to the top, from which the view is so extensive that the Green Mountains can be seen from Jay Peak to Equinox, also the valley of the Connecticut for fifty miles. Lafayette's visit was so delayed that he did not make the trip to the top. However, our latest information is that it is possible to drive a car close to the top of the mountain. We are trying to compile a list of Vermont mountains which have roads adequate for auto travel and those with trails reaching near or to the top, but we find the information covering the state incomplete or doubtful in other ways. However, the list will be assembled. The mountains will be here when Vermont, as Emerson said of London, Paris, and New York, is "a tradition and a name," and they have an important place in Vermont's history.

* * *

Vermont is really a state of towns, and the inherent local pride in the town has been a source of the state's strength. Whether representation in our legislature should be based on population is a question we will leave to the expert. Being a small town man and knowing well many of the small towns of the state where neighborliness is possible because of a town's smallness, I am inclined to argue that God intended that the small town should have its place in the sun; and I find I am forever pointing out that no great leader of men ever came from a great city. Go over your history of the world's leaders and see what you find.

* * *

The search is going to be long, and it will outlast us, but a growing wonder at the achievements of Vermonters who went north, east, south, and west from Vermont suggested plans here of tracing their journeys and their accomplishments and failures. Articles and notes will begin to appear in our publications from time to time; and the end should be a revealing book of lasting value. We hope you will

follow, as we have ahead of you, the story of our two young missionaries who left the security of Vermont for the uncertain and often dangerous life of the missionary to Indian tribes of the West.

* * *

My affinity for tall stories waneth not with the years—probably because as a young lad I listened to two Vermont tall-story tellers through many a session. The tendency to create and tell a tall story has not yet died out under the impact of radio comedians and their “gag” writers, but it is the tall yarn out of the past that should be preserved, and I trust our local historians in the state will collect all they can—even if a certain type of so-called scholarly student of history sniffs his nose at such tales. History is no longer the luxury of scholars, a tribe apart, writing as a rule such dusty and dull prose that life, if not meaning, has been squeezed out of it. History belongs to all of us, not to the select few. Here is a tall tale told by Thomas Moore, a story teller of Chelsea, Vt., long ago:

I was going on foot to Winchester, N. H., on a time, and when I had reached a spot on the Connecticut river where I had been accustomed to cross on a ferry boat, I found the boat had been carried away by a freshet or flood. Not being much of a swimmer, I undertook to ford the river. I fearlessly waded in, carrying a gun loaded with powder and ball in my hand. I soon found my head under water, but I kept on wading, the water rushing and roaring, meanwhile, over me; but nothing daunted, I continued to wade until I reached the opposite bank. My legs had become so heavy that it was with the utmost difficulty that I could pull myself ashore. When I was fairly landed, I took off my clothes and found I had some twenty or thirty pounds of fresh shad in my trousers and clinging to my boots. I climbed up a peeled poplar tree, on which I hung my clothes to dry. Looking around me, I discovered a hay-stack in the field with a fence around it. On the topmost rail of that fence sat a row of quails. I immediately set my wits to work to know how to kill all those quails at one shot, having but one charge of powder and ball with me; that I had preserved dry in my gun by corking it at the muzzle. I finally run my gun under a rock and bent it to a curve, crawled on my hands and knees as near to the stack of hay as I dared, pointed the muzzle of my gun to the nearest quail, and whiz! went the ball, hitting the first quail and sweeping every bird clean off the fence and laying them dead on the ground. But I found the ball coming after me, for I was close up to the fence when I fired. I ran like a white-head round the stack, the ball continuing after me, and seeing it gaining on me I caught up a slab and turned it off. Thus I secured a rich harvest of shad and quails.”

* * *

In trying to trace the naming of Troy, Vermont, we came on a quaint little book, written by John Woodworth in 1853 under the title: *Reminiscences of Troy from its settlement in 1790 to 1807 with remarks on*

its commerce, enterprise, improvements, state of political parties and Sketches of Individual Character. Written at the request of several gentlemen of Troy. This delightful account of the early beginnings of Troy, N. Y., set down by John Woodworth at the end of a busy career as lawyer, legislator and Attorney General, has one anecdote that must have made Troy, N. Y., remembered by many Vermonters.

The hero of this tale was one Benjamin Smith who came to Troy about the time of the commencement of its settlement—a man of unusual integrity and benevolence whose confidence in his Vermont friends must have been almost unbounded. This is the way Mr. Woodworth tells the story, which according to the custom of his time was printed with a lavish use of upper-case type:

“At that Time the Collection of Debts in *Vermont* was slow and tedious; Creditors in *New York* were desirous of subjecting their Debtors in *Vermont* to the more stringent Process of Collection in this State; *Troy* being a Location to which there was frequent Resort, many an unlucky Wight, who had crossed the Line of separation, and arrested on Process issued in this County, would have been compelled to accept a temporary Residence within the four Walls, had not Benjamin Smith come to the Rescue. I recollect a Remark of the late Hon. Amasa Paine, speaking of his friendly Acts, observed, ‘He was ready to become Bail for all Vermont;’ and yet believed he had been so Fortunate as to Escape with trifling Loss. In kind Actions, he might well compare with the *Man of Ross*; and to him he applied the Lines addressed to VIRGIL on the Death of QUINTILUS VARUS:

‘Such was his Worth, our Loss is such,
We cannot love too well, or grieve too much.’ ”

Bless him! He must have been quite a fellow and the fame of Troy, New York, must have traveled north with many a returning Vermonter who could still hear the clank of the jailor’s key.

There is one other item in the book we would like to tell about because it illustrates so vividly our often-repeated contention that there was plenty of life in the old days and that modern advertising has nothing on the old-fashioned kind. Stephen Ashley, the first settler of Troy, N. Y., kept a tavern for several years and his sign in 1791 bore a portrait of Washington and the arresting words:

WHY HERE IS

ASHLEY’S

with Washington in the middle. L.E.K.

* * *

When Mr. C. R. Ranney, the donor of Charlotte and Timothy Ranney’s letters, brought to us the pictures of three Cherokee friends of his grandfather’s, we were interested to learn more about

the originals, and the stories that unfolded were so unusual that we would like to share them with you. One was a daguerrotype of Stand Waite who served with the Confederate army in the Civil War and was commissioned a Brigadier General in 1864. Stand Waite was born in Tennessee and educated in the Brainard Mission School in that state. His older brother, who was known to the Indians as Buck Waite, went north to the Mission School in Cornwall, Conn., where he was befriended by a well-to-do family named Budinot and renamed by them Elias Budinot. He fell in love with a local girl, Harriet Gold, who belonged to a prominent family of the town, and much to the scandal and distress of many of the citizens, including her own people, he married her and took her back to the Cherokee Nation.

Everyone thought poor Harriet had gone to live in a smoke-filled tepee, but the conditions were quite different from what they imagined. In 1829, Harriet's brother went with his wife in a one-horse wagon to visit the Budinot home in the Cherokee Nation and see how his sister was getting along. It must have been with considerable satisfaction and relief, not to say amazement, that his parents read his report of his brother-in-law's fine frame home, many slaves, and prosperous store. After his return to Georgia, Elias Budinot founded the Cherokee paper *The Phoenix*, which was published for some time and his brother-in-law writes:

"Mr. Boudinot has much good company and is as much respected as any man of his age. His paper is respectable all over the United States and known in Europe; has about 100 newspapers sent him from the different parts of the United States by way of exchange." Harriet sent a message to her father that she had never regretted coming here in the manner she did, that she had "a large framed house-two stories, 30 by 40 feet on the ground, well done off, and well furnished with the comforts of life." In general, the picture is that of a well-to-do, highly respected family living like any other of Harriet's old neighbors in Cornwall, except, perhaps, writes her enthusiastic brother, "that the Indians are a little more prosperous and their children handsomer!"

At the outbreak of the Civil War as many of the wealthy, slave-owning Cherokees favored the Confederate cause, Mr. Ranney and his wife left the Indian country. The journal Mrs. Ranney kept at the time tells of their stopping at "Mr. Stand Weighty's" on their way and spending the Sabbath there, where Mr. Ranney preached for the last time in the Nation and whence Mr. and Mrs. Weighty rode with them for ten or twelve miles. Mrs. Ranney writes in her

journal: "She (Mrs. Weighty) gave me his daguerrotype just as we started."

During the existence of the Confederacy, Stand Waite's brother, Elias Budinot, was the Cherokee representative in the Confederate House.

One of the other pictures is that of the Cherokee leader, John Ross, chief of the Cherokee Nation from 1828 to 1839 after his people were moved to the West, before that president of the National Committee of the Cherokee Council from 1819 to 1826. In Mrs. Ranney's journal of their leave-taking in 1861, there is an entry concerning this photograph: "According to promise Mrs. Naive came and brought her father's picture. It is a very correct likeness which we shall prize very much."

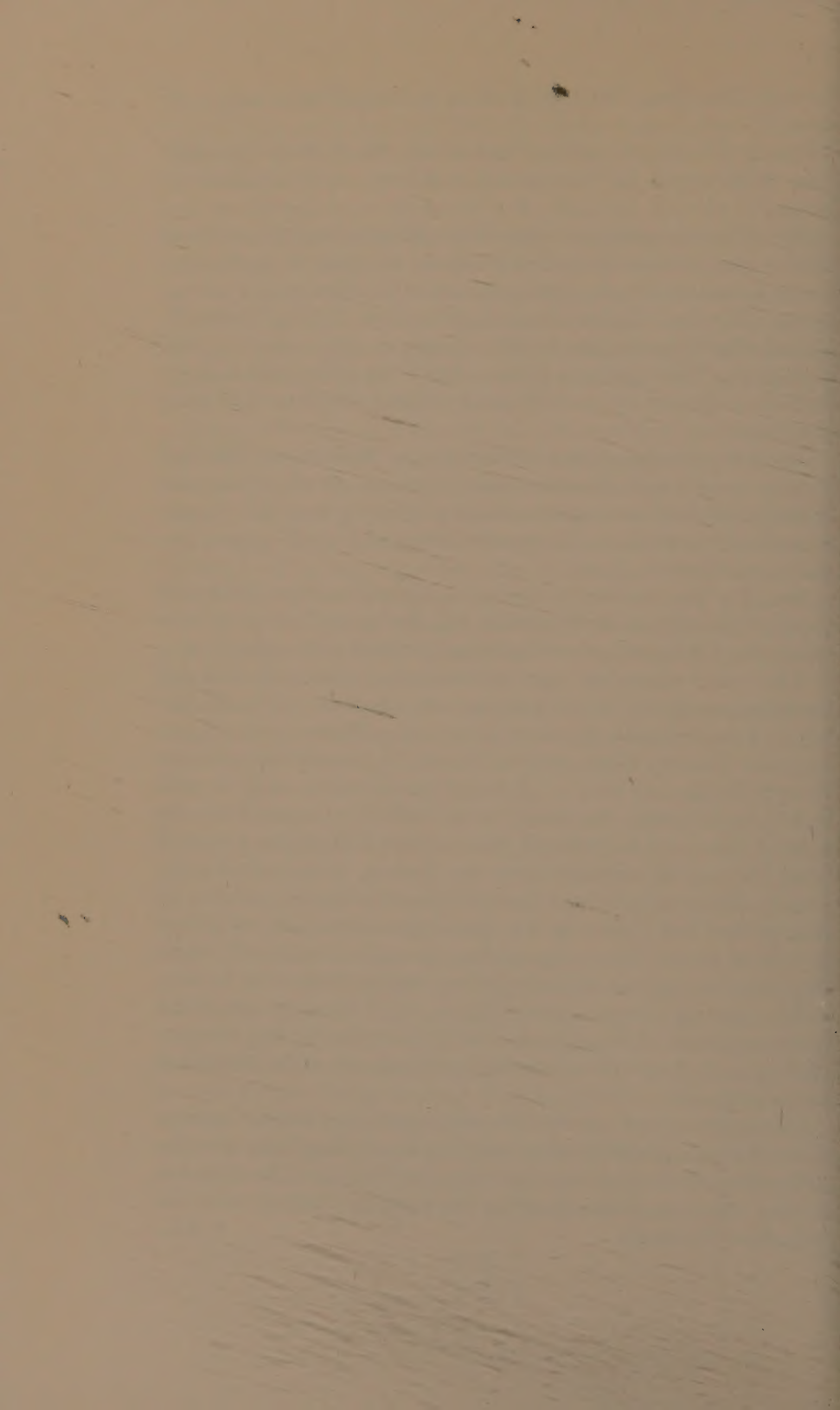
The third photograph was labeled simply, "Kulaskana," and Mr. Ranney wrote that he had been told that he was one of the members of his grandfather's congregation at Lee's Creek Mission, who thought so much of his pastor that he presented him with his picture when the pastor was forced to leave.

Out of it all comes not merely a vivid picture of the wealth and superior education of the Cherokees, but also by implication the love which many of them bore to this devoted pastor from Vermont.

The letters themselves have an interesting connection with the early history of this Society, as you will see when you read letter No. 3 of the series. In this letter, written from Barnet and dated Jan. 17, 1843, Timothy Ranny tells his fiancée: "I am seated in my room to-night for the first time. . . . I do not feel this to be exactly a sanctuary, for adjoining this room is the *Vermont Antiquarian Society* Library [our itals] and the only entrance to it is through my room." Some of you may not realize that the Vermont Antiquarian Society was the first name given our Vermont Historical Society and that its headquarters and library at that time were in the home of Henry Stevens of Barnet. The paragraph he adds on his "landlord," whom we take to be this same Henry Stevens, the founder of our Society, will be amusing to some modern readers, but it certainly reflects the horror and stark incomprehension felt by the church-going majority of those days toward those who did not accept any of the established creeds of the day.

Once more we are reminded how often a diary or a letter contains somewhere a passing reference that sheds a revealing light, not only on contemporary mores and social attitudes but also on the emotions aroused by some eminent man in his neighbors and those of his immediate household.

L.E.K.



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of the
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VERMONT

OLD Vermont!—to the hurrying traveler along her eastern and western highways, a wilderness of wild mountains with a narrow foreground of meagre farms, but to those who know her defiles and passes a net-work of fertile valleys, smiling in plenty and content; baptized in struggle and bred to diplomacy and war, her children fighters all, yet as true a lover of peace as ever lived beside great hills; cautious, close-mouthed, secretive, trained by bitter experience to the wisdom of suspicion, yet opening her heart to her friends with the candor of a child; excelled by none in unity and brotherhood when roused to a common cause, then lapsing by reaction to jealousy and neighbor hate when times are tame and dull; never less defeated than when her case has gone against her, and always prompt with a motion to reconsider; the passions of two peoples struggling within her, the stable East and the restless West; loving her mountain sod with devotion unsurpassed in any land beside the seven seas, yet thrusting her children out to a better country—a mother of pioneers prodigal beyond all others; brave and self-sacrificing to a fault, proud and self-reliant, yet in her secret heart an underlying fear born of the bitterest disappointments that ever attended the birth of a State; land of contradictions to her friends from without and to all who seek to put her genius into words; but to those who know her and to whom she accords her love, straightforward and single in loyalty to her mission: dear old Vermont!

From an address at the opening of the 121st year of Middlebury College, September 23, 1920 by President John M. Thomas